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Southeast Asia Report

VIETNAM

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No 2, FEBRUARY 1986

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Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

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ADDRESS BY TRUONG CHINH AT THE 5TH NATIONAL CONGRESS OF HEROES (16-17 JANUARY 1986)

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 1-3

[Address by Truong Chinh]

[Text] Dear presiding officers,

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, the Council of State and the Council of Ministers, I wholeheartedly welcome you to the 5th National Congress of Heroes and Emulation Warriors, welcome the heroic collectives and individuals and the emulation warriors who bring to this congress the fresh, bright flowers of Vietnamese revolutionary heroism.

On this occasion, I extend a hearty welcome and thanks to the Soviet specialists and specialists from the other fraternal socialist countries who are working hard and helping the Vietnamese to build and defend their country. I would also like to extend a welcome to the representatives of the diplomatic missions of the socialist countries in attendance here today.

Dear comrades,

This national congress of heroes and emulation warriors represents 218 heroic units and collectives, 111 heroic individuals and 223 national emulation warriors from all strata of the people, all age groups and all localities in both the lowlands and the mountains. This proves that the socialist emulation movement has developed nationwide and is becoming a powerful moving force in the cause of building and defending the fatherland. Under the party's leadership, you, along with the rest of our people and armed forces, have displayed the spirit of collective ownership, displayed self-reliance, overcome natural disasters and enemy attacks, worked with selfless devotion and recorded many very inspiring achievements.

You have helped us to take a step toward defeating the war of encroachment and occupation along the border and the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the expansionists and hegemonists, helped us to strengthen and consolidate our national defense, maintain political security and social order and safety and fulfill our international obligation to the fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia.

On behalf of the party and state, I heartily commend you, our heroic collectives and individuals, our national emulation warriors, heartily commend the manual workers, farmers, intellectuals, soldiers of the armed forces and fellow countrymen nationwide who struggled bravely, surmounted difficulties and recorded many outstanding achievements in the resistance against the United States for national salvation and are doing so again today in the cause of building and defending the fatherland.

Dear comrades,

In 1986, the first year of the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan, the tasks of our people are very large and very glorious. Under the light of the resolutions of the Party Central Committee and the resolution of the 10th session of the 7th National Assembly, I urge you to join your fellow countrymen and the soldiers of the entire country in building stronger unity, join together in effort and spirit, display the spirit of socialist collective ownership, display initiative and creativity and make every effort to emulate in work, production and the practice of frugality, revamp the management mechanism, combat bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, shift entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices, develop upon strengths, rectify shortcomings, combat each negative phenomena in society and stabilize the standard of living. Put the teaching of the great President Ho Chi Minh into practice: "Each and every person, each and every sector emulating each and every day..." Build a strong and widespread revolutionary action movement aimed at achieving high productivity, quality and efficiency. Be highly determined to bring about a new change in our country's socio-economic situation.

Be highly vigilant and work to strengthen our national defense and security, to defeat the enemy's border war of encroachment and occupation and their wide-ranging war of sabotage and thus insure the performance of our two strategic tasks: successfully building socialist and staunchly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Those heroic collectives and individuals and national emulation warriors who receive commendations must be highly visible in their role as leaders in the revolutionary movements of the masses, keep reaching even higher and record worthy achievements in celebration of the party's 6th National Congress.

It is my hope that from the spirited emulation movement of our people will emerge many more heroic collectives and individuals, many more national emulation warriors who are creative, technically skilled, disciplined and highly productive, who set good examples in respecting and protecting socialist property.

I wish you success in your efforts to complete the 1986 state plan, thereby making positive contributions to the successful completion of the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan.

I wish you a new year of abundant good health, much happiness and success in your work.

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CSO: 4210/7

TOWARD THE 6TH PARTY CONGRESS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 4-8

[Editorial]

[Text] The 9th Plenum of the Party decided to convene the party's 6th National Congress of Delegates in late 1986. The congress will discuss and evaluate the situation surrounding the implementation of the resolution of the 5th Congress, decide the strategic guidelines for socio-economic development in the years ahead and the tasks under the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan, discuss amendments and revisions to the Party Statutes and elect the party's 6th Central Committee.

These are important jobs, jobs that will have a decisive influence upon the destiny of the country, upon the revolutionary cause of the people, upon the strength and leadership ability of the entire party. Each party congress provides an opportunity to review the party's awareness of theory and practice, re-examine the corps of cadres and party members and increase the party's fighting strength. Each also entails a political activity drive that raises the standards of the masses. Each party congress is a new milestone on the path of development of the revolution and marks growth by our party.

Since the 5th Party Congress and despite countless difficulties and challenges posed by heavy enemy attacks and repeated natural disasters, our people, under the leadership of the party, have fought with great tenacity and bravery and recorded large achievements on both fronts: building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland.

After healing the wounds of the war, with our economy seriously imbalanced and with fewer supplies and raw materials available to us, we tried to gradually increase production in all areas, especially grain production. Whereas agricultural production only increased at the average rate of 2 percent and industrial production at the average rate of 0.7 percent per year during the 5 years from 1976 to 1980, agricultural output increased by an average rate of 5.1 percent and industrial production by an average rate of 14 percent per year during the 5 years from 1981 to 1985. Grain output rose from 13.49 million tons in 1976 to 14.4 million tons in 1980 and 18.2 million tons in 1985. Grain output has risen by nearly 1 million tons per year in each of the past 5 years.

Although we have had to meet the basic and pressing needs involved in strengthening our security and national defense and the minimum needs of the people at the same time, we have displayed a high spirit of self-reliance in building the material-technical bases necessary for socialism. Today, nearly 300 more above-line projects and many medium and small-scale projects built by the state and the people together, which include numerous important projects, have been put into operation and a number of others will go into operation in the years ahead. The fixed assets of the material production sector increased nearly three-fold between 1976 and 1985. Never before has our country had the important material-technical bases that it does now.

Large victories have been won in socialist transformation. The exploiting classes have been virtually abolished. Agricultural cooperativization in the South has been virtually completed through various forms and levels of cooperativization. Socialist production relations now hold the dominant position within the national economy. Deserving of attention is the fact that, in recent years, under the light of the resolutions of the 6th, 7th and 8th Party Plenums, we have gradually defined our basic views on revamping the economic management mechanism, dismantling bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and shifting entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices on the basis of planning and have gradually applied the economic laws of the initial stage of the period of transition in our country better.

As regards the standard of living, although many difficulties are still being encountered, we have been virtually meeting the essential needs for food, clothing, shelter, transportation, health care and education. With the exception of a number of places at which damage from natural disasters was extensive, the standard of living has been improved and is more stable in many rural areas. We have provided jobs to millions of persons. Education, science, technology, cultural activities, public health and social work have continuously developed. Important inroads have been made against the cultural vestiges and social ills left behind by the old regime in the South. The face of society, especially in the countryside, is undergoing profound changes.

Having continued to increase the fighting strength of the people's armed forces and strengthen our security and national defense potentials, we have begun to win victory over the scheme of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and other reactionary powers to encircle and sabotage us and have maintained the independence and freedom of our fatherland while fulfilling our sacred international obligation to the two fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia, thus making the overall revolutionary situation of the three countries of Indochina stronger and more stable than ever before.

The large and comprehensive achievements mentioned above prove that the line of our party is correct and creative, prove the strength and superiority of the socialist system and confirm that our party has taken strides forward and grown in the process of leading the socialist revolution. These large and comprehensive achievements are the results of years and months of arduous, bitter struggle waged by our people in the spirit of self-reliance and with the large and effective assistance of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries and the sympathy and support of our friends throughout the world.

However, the achievements recorded in the recent past have not fundamentally changed the socio-economic face of our country from one of small-scale production to one of large-scale, socialist production nor have they brought about stable development so that we can complete the socio-economic tasks of the initial stage of the period of transition. Production continues to develop slowly at a time when the population has been growing rapidly and national income per capita has risen only slightly. Labor and arable land are not being fully utilized. Productivity, quality and efficiency have declined. The economy is still in a serious state of imbalance, some aspects of which are very acute. The people, primarily cadres, manual workers and the armed forces, are still encountering many difficulties in their everyday lives. Many aspects of the economy and society are abnormal. Negative phenomena are being corrected slowly.

The poor socio-economic situation described above has objective causes and is the result of subjective weaknesses and shortcomings of our party and state in organizing and guiding implementation and in management.

In the field of party organization-building, we have tried to adhere to and support the performance of the political tasks of the party and thoroughly carry out the guidelines, line and tasks set by the 4th Congress, the 5th Congress and the plenums of the Party Central Committee concerning party building. In only a short amount of time, we performed a large volume of detailed work. We carried out the second round of the party organization congresses on the various levels; implemented the resolutions of the Party Central Committee on ideological and organizational work; re-examined and strengthened the corps of leadership cadres on all levels; planned and intensified the elementary and advanced training of cadres; formulated work regulations of the Party Central Committee and the provincial party committees, district party committees and party committees of basic units; promoted the effort to build district party organizations that are solid and strong; focused efforts on strengthening a number of types of basic organizations of the party (such as the basic organizations of the party at state-operated enterprises, in the Central Highlands, in the border highlands and on the subward level); reviewed the issuance of party membership cards and the effort to improve the quality of party members; partially reorganized the organizational and staff apparata; revised and amended a number of policies concerning cadres, etc. As a result, the quality and effectiveness of party organizational work-building have been raised to a new level. In particular, this work has been increasingly oriented toward supporting the tasks of building the economy and strengthening the state apparatus. The leadership and guidance provided by the local party committees and sectors have been partially improved under guidelines that are more thorough, concrete and effective. The leadership apparatus of the party and the management apparatus of the state have been steadily strengthened.

However, compared to the requirements of the tasks of the revolution in the new stage, ideological work, organizational work, cadre work and inspections have, generally speaking, improved slowly and not kept pace with the development of the situation. Our efforts in many areas of our work still reflect a lack of initiative, are still ineffective. Within the party and state apparatus, compliance with the lines and policies of the party and laws of the state is not strict. The right of collective ownership of the laboring people in economic management and state management is not being upheld and is even being violated at many places. Bureaucratic centralism, conservatism, authoritarianism and irresponsibility are still widespread. Although new party membership cards have been issued, there are still more than a few cadres and party members who are corrupt. Using one's position or job to steal public property, take bribes and conspire with undesirable elements to achieve personal wealth, intimidating the masses, actions that reflect a lack of organization and discipline and individualism are still rather widespread phenomena. At many places, the party organization is not fulfilling its inspection function well nor doing a good job of educating and managing party members. The lack of internal unity at a number of places has not been corrected. The ability of the management apparatus to conduct research and provide guidance and management still falls short of requirements. The weaknesses in party organizational work-building have seriously affected the implementation of party directives and resolutions.

Our country is currently in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism. Although we have many basic advantages in our favor, our economy remains a small-scale production economy and is seriously imbalanced. Many aspects of production and the standard of living are unstable. In addition, our country must constantly fight the wide-ranging war of sabotage and the border war of encroachment and occupation being waged by the enemy and guard against the possibility of their launching a large-scale war of aggression.

In the years ahead, on the basis of the strategic line and views of the party and our country's socio-economic situation today, our people must focus their efforts on meeting the following primary targets: stabilizing all aspects of the socio-economic situation; stabilizing the standard of living; building a rational agro-industrial economic structure; continuing to build the material-technical bases of socialism; strengthening and perfecting socialist production relations in a manner compatible with production forces, establishing the new management mechanism and stimulating the development of production forces; and continuing to strengthen our national defense and security.

By meeting the above targets, we will successfully complete the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism in our country and lay the foundations needed to advance our country's socio-economic system to the next stage, the focus of which will be large-scale socialist industrialization.

To implement these strategic guidelines, it is of decisive importance that we continue to improve the ability of the party to lead and increase the management effectiveness of the state apparatus. The realities of life have increasingly shown that if we adopt correct lines and issue correct directives and resolutions but our organizational and management skills are inadequate, these lines, directives and resolutions ultimately cannot be implemented and are sometimes even altered.

There is very much that we must do as we move toward the 6th National Congress of the Party. However, of key importance is the need to further increase the fighting strength and leadership ability of the party organization and strengthen the apparatus and increase the management effectiveness of the state through our efforts to organize the implementation of the 1986 state plan and through the party congresses on the various levels.

In the process of preparing for and holding their congresses, the various party committee echelons must delve deeply into reviewing all areas of their work and practice good self-criticism and criticism. They must draw lessons and experience in organizing and guiding implementation, in managing their work. On this basis, positive and practical measures must be taken to develop upon strengths, overcome weaknesses, build stronger internal unity and make progress in all areas of their work. The leaders of the various levels and sectors must guide the practice of self-criticism and criticism on their level and within their sector. They must set a good example by criticizing themselves, accepting the criticisms offered by others and taking positive steps to rectify their shortcomings.

Of pressing importance at this time is the need to correctly and thoroughly implement the principle of democratic centralism in party activities and management work. Concrete and determined measures must be taken to correct the problem of lax party discipline and lax compliance with state laws, create the strength of unity of will and action throughout the party, create the strength of unified state management and tap the initiative and creativity of basic units, localities and sectors, of each laborer. We must combat bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies. At the same time, we must combat decentralization, localism, the lack of organization and discipline and the pursuit of personal interests to the detriment of common interests.

One important and pressing requirement we face is to raise the standards of cadres and party members, especially their ability to organize and manage the economy and manage the state. At the same time, we must restructure our organization, reassign cadres and improve both work methods and the style of work. On the one hand, we must quickly provide cadres and party members with new knowledge of economic management, science, technology and their specialized field or profession through advanced training in accordance with the requirements involved in revamping our leadership of the economy and improving the economic management mechanism. On the other hand, it is necessary to reorganize the training and deployment of cadres and build a corps of cadres who truly possess good qualities and skills and meet the new requirements of the current stage. The resolution of the 9th Party Plenum requires that we begin, at the very start of 1986, to restructure the apparata of the party, state and mass organizations, eliminate unnecessary middle-level organizations, restructure the labor force of administrative agencies, reduce the size of indirect staffs at basic production and business units and assign additional cadres to districts, basic units and places that are experiencing difficulties. All levels and sectors must improve their work methods to insure that the principle of democratic centralism is correctly implemented and that they maintain close contact with basic units, with the masses. The style of the bureaucrat, of doing everything by fiat as well as localism, departmentalism and narrowminded attitudes must be overcome and corrected. Emphasis must be placed on a workstyle based on investigations and research, on pilot projects and inspections, on conducting preliminary and final reviews to gain experience.

To increase the party's strength, we must insure that there are unity and consensus within the party based on thoroughly understanding the lines and views of the party, correctly implementing the principle of democratic centralism and fully practicing self-criticism and criticism. In the present situation, with difficulties and complex changes still being experienced in the economy and society and the enemy looking for every way to divide, provoke and sabotage us, any relaxation or lack of vigilance, any manifestation of a lack of unity and consensus is harmful to the revolutionary cause of our party and people. Cadres, party members and state personnel on all levels must, regardless of their job, display a high spirit of unity, maintain their revolutionary qualities and ethics and show themselves as correctly fulfilling the exemplary, vanguard role of the party member, of the revolutionary cadre. They must maintain close ties with the masses, improve their workstyle, keep abreast of the realities of life, permeate the masses, listen to their opinions and not be bureaucratic, arbitrary or despotic.

Determined steps must be taken to remove from the party and state agencies elements that have degenerated and become deviant. Strict but fair disciplinary action must be taken against leadership and management cadres who show themselves to be irresponsible, do not comply with the resolution of the party and do not complete the task assigned to them.

A national congress is the most important event in the political life of the party and has a direct influence upon the interests of the people and the life of all society. Preparing for a party congress provides a good opportunity to vigorously tap the intelligence and strength of the entire party and encourage the masses to participate in party building, thereby helping to strengthen the ties between the party and the masses. In the immediate future, all party committee echelons must launch spirited revolutionary action movements of the masses, emulation movements to meet and exceed the targets of the 1986 state plan and record practical achievements in celebration of the 6th Party Congress.

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THOROUGHLY UNDERSTANDING THE PARTY'S RESOLUTION ON PRICES, WAGES AND MONEY IN STATE-OPERATED INDUSTRY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 9-12, 24

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Since mid-1985, in keeping with the resolution of the 8th Party Plenum and Political Bureau Resolution 28 on prices, wages and money, the basic units within state-operated industry have recorded a number of results in implementing the principle of distribution in accordance with labor and have begun to restructure their production and reorganize their labor force, thus creating the conditions needed to gradually establish the new management mechanism of economic accounting and socialist business practices based on planning. However, while working to implement the resolutions of the party and decisions of the state, the basic units within state-operated industry have encountered a number of difficulties, such as rising production costs, difficulty marketing a number of types of products, a decline in the formation of capital for the state or no formation of capital at all and some basic units are operating at a loss.

These difficulties stem from the low level of development of production and the imbalanced state of our country's economy. Due to shortages of materials and energy, many basic units are operating at only 50 percent of their capacity. The consumption of embodied labor and live labor is very high. Labor productivity is low. Product quality is poor. Waste is extensive. Negative phenomena are still widespread. Many aspects of production are irrational. Production has not been restructured. Distribution and circulation still involve many unnecessary and irrational intermediary levels. Circulation costs are very high. The purchasing power of society is still low. Market prices are still being influenced by state subsidies. Economic management is weak.

Because our economy is so underdeveloped and imbalanced, basic units within state-operated industry have been experiencing more than a few difficulties despite the facts that we have taken a step toward including all costs in production costs, the state continues to heavily subsidize the prices of means of production (particularly imported materials), transportation charges and the prices of some essential consumer goods and a step has been taken toward dismantling state subsidies. Resolving the difficulties mentioned above in a fundamental way demands that we make every effort to accelerate production, correct the imbalances that exist and bring about strong changes within the national economy.

To overcome the difficulties they face, basic production units must display the spirit of collective ownership, redouble their efforts to step up production, raise their labor productivity, reduce the consumption of materials and improve their management in order to reduce production costs, stop operating at a loss, recover their capital and begin earning a profit. All sectors and levels must endeavor to restore economic order, stabilize the market and prices and create the conditions for basic units to implement their plans from the standpoint of both output and value, institute economic accounting and gradually achieve higher economic efficiency.

Basic production units must make full use of potential sources of energy, raw materials and supplies so that they can fully utilize their existing production capacity. They must make full use of materials stored in warehouses and discarded materials. They must establish economic ties with other economic organizations in order to produce additional raw materials and supplies. They must step up the production of export goods so that they are better able to import those types of materials that are not fully provided by the state. They must use all the capital that they can borrow from foreign countries to import supplies and materials needed for production and must try to turn this capital over many times so that they can produce many products, rapidly increase their business revenues and achieve high efficiency.

Enterprises must formulate and adjust their production plans on the basis of supply sources and on the basis of the needs of society. They must develop the production plan and product line that are most efficient during each period of time in light of the new price policy and socialist business principles. They must determine which products to produce on the basis of marketing capabilities. If they are producing products for which market demand has been satisfied, enterprises must shift to the production of other products demanded by the market. If they are operating at a loss but not producing essential products needed to support the implementation of policies, enterprises must shift to the production of products that will enable them to earn a profit. Enterprise directors have the authority to adjust their product lines in a flexible and timely manner provided that they develop production, meet the needs of society, fulfill obligations to the state and operate an efficient business.

The pressing tasks that confront enterprises are to reduce production costs to more reasonable levels and achieve higher economic efficiency. To reduce production costs, it is necessary to eliminate all things that are irrational and all weaknesses in management and the way that production is organized. Urgent steps must be taken to restructure and reorganize production.

On the basis of the supply sources, production plan and product line of the entire sector and the technical equipment at each member enterprise, the federations of enterprises must apportion their plan among the enterprises within the federation, between central enterprises and local enterprises, between state-operated enterprises and small industry and handicraft production units and establish efficient cooperation among member enterprises from the standpoint of which handles which stage of production with the aims of tapping the strengths of each basic unit and producing high quality products at low costs. Enterprises must take the initiative in reorganizing their production to suit the production plan and product line they have selected and achieve the highest possible efficiency.

In management, material and labor consumption ceilings must be re-examined. A movement must be launched among manual workers and civil servants to establish reasonable ceilings on the consumption of materials and labor and every effort must be made to implement these ceilings. It is necessary to fully calculate precisely how much equipment will be needed during the year to implement the production plan. Authorization must be sought to transfer equipment that will not be used to other enterprises that have a need for this equipment. Authorization must also be sought to put equipment that will not immediately be used into storage in order to avoid having to take depreciation. Discarded equipment must be written off quickly.

All fixed assets that have been put into use must be utilized at full capacity. If surplus capacity occurs as a result of a shortage of raw materials, enterprises are permitted to do work under contract for another economic organization in order to fully utilize their equipment capacity.

Enterprises must adhere to major overhaul schedules in order to increase the amount of time that equipment is in operation. Major overhaul costs must be included in production costs. Appropriate material incentives must be offered to encourage the manual workers and civil servants of enterprises to manufacture spare parts on their own, restore broken equipment and improve equipment. Below average consumption ceilings must govern raw material, fuel, supply and power costs. A ceiling must be set on the generation of discarded materials and discarded materials must be recovered.

Wage costs must be computed on the basis of reorganizing labor in order to establish a well balanced work force, insure that the required number of productive days and hours is worked and increase the income of persons who are highly skilled and highly productive. It is necessary to overcome such phenomena that reduce labor productivity as not making thorough preparations for production as a result of which workers must wait for work; taking much work time to change shifts; arriving at work late and leaving early; playing during work; working in an irresponsible and inefficient manner; not maintaining proper labor discipline, etc. Lazy persons who have been educated but have not changed their ways must be fired.

Management costs must be calculated in exact accordance with stipulated procedures. Determined steps must be taken to put an end to all expenditures on gifts and conference mementoes, to shifting the burden of administrative costs to the upper level and to expenditures on banquets, parties and receptions as well as all other extravagant and wasteful expenditures.

Enterprises must use their capital in the way that is most frugal and efficient. They must reduce excessive inventories and process backlogged materials. They must recover capital that is tied up and turn over their capital at a faster rate in order to reduce the amount of capital that must be borrowed and the amount of interest that must be paid.

Products that are produced at reduced cost as a result of the application of scientific and technical advances, the improvement of management or production conditions within the locality can be sold at a price lower than the directed price of the state in order to market these products more quickly, turn over capital quickly and expand production. However, this action can only be taken with the consent of the authorized price agency.

In the case of products produced outside legally binding norms for which production costs are high or which a customer is willing to market, the enterprise has the authority to sell these products at a negotiated price higher than the directed price of the state. However, efforts must be made to reduce these production costs in order to reduce the price to the directed price at an early date. In the case of a product that is difficult to market because the price is high, the price must be adjusted downward and a loss must be incurred so that capital can be turned over quickly. Capital should not remain tied up for very long. In the case of products for which directed prices of the state have not yet been set, producers and marketers are permitted to ship, receive and make payment for products at negotiated prices.

The party committee, trade union, Youth Union organization and Women's Union organization of the enterprise, together with the enterprise director, must maintain close contact with production sections and units, guide and assist them in promptly resolving the difficulties and problems encountered in production and everyday life and encourage everyone to make every effort to step up production.

In order for industrial enterprises to operate normally, it is not only necessary to carry out production well, but also necessary to carry out circulation well. Circulation must be reorganized at both ends: the supplying of materials for production and the marketing of products, with all unnecessary intermediary elements being eliminated.

As regards means of production, basic units that consume large amounts of materials (as power plants and cement plants do in the case of coal...) can receive their materials directly from production units. Enterprises whose needs are small will be supplied through supply organizations, sign procurement contracts and receive their supplies directly from these organizations in accordance with the principle of only going through one intermediary element. Those supply organizations of the ministry that are essentially only intermediary elements will be abolished. Raw materials produced by the collective economy, private economy or household economy, if they are being procured through contracts signed directly with basic production units, need not be procured through an intermediary commerce organization. Revenue accounts set up by sectors and localities on their own that do not comply with the laws and regulations of the state and serve to increase the irrational nature of the prices of the raw materials and supplies used in production must be abolished.

As regards consumer goods, there must be a gradual transition to retail corporations and large retail stores receiving their goods directly from production enterprises in accordance with the distribution plan of the home trade sector instead of through level I or level II wholesale commerce organizations. In cases in which it is still necessary to go through wholesale commerce, the commerce system (wholesale and retail) will only receive a discount (or mark up) set for the entire sector. The commerce sector will apportion this discount (or mark up) among each segment of the sector and may not exceed the approved ceiling.

Developing production, implementing economic accounting and endeavoring to reduce production costs within state-operated industry demand the coordination, assistance and support of all sectors and levels.

The management of the domestic market must be strengthened. Speculation in the materials (including discarded materials) needed for industry, which pushes up prices on the market, must be eliminated. As regards the needs of small industry and the handicraft trades, the collection of taxes must be combined with providing guidance concerning raw material and supply procurement prices and the prices at which products are sold with the aim of preventing prices from being raised in order to compete with state-operated industry. State-operated commerce organizations and marketing cooperatives that sell goods of state-operated industry and the other segments of the economy must maintain tight quality and price control. They must not place sole emphasis upon business revenues, upon obtaining products cheaply and buy defective products and fake goods, thereby supporting those who earn their living dishonestly. The transformation of private merchants must be intensified mainly by shifting private merchants to jobs in production and the services.

The management of exports and imports must be strengthened to protect domestic production. The importation of consumer goods must be closely managed. Products that are produced domestically should not be imported, or only imported in limited quantities and under an import tax. An import tax must also be placed on goods that are permitted to be imported. We must stop the practice of basic production and business units setting the prices of exports and imports on their own and then using the profits from imports to compensate for losses incurred through exports, a practice which disrupts domestic market prices and causes industry to encounter difficulties in its production and economic accounting.

It is necessary to strengthen state management, stabilize the situation and restore economic order in accordance with the new policies on prices, wages and money. All sectors and levels must work together to quickly thwart the enemy's attempts at sabotage and combat speculation and efforts to monopolize the market, disrupt the market and create difficulties for industrial production. Organizations whose task it is to support industrial production, such as our distribution, supply, transport, banking, commerce and other organizations, must restructure their organization, eliminate intermediary elements, change the way they do business and correctly execute the economic contracts signed with industrial enterprises. At the same time, on the basis of the new policies on prices and wages and correct forms of bonuses and penalties, it is necessary to help industrial enterprises to overcome negative phenomena.

The combined management agencies of the state must help enterprises in the following areas: determining the value of fixed assets; loaning enterprises sufficient liquid capital to enable them to operate at the new prices and new wages; helping enterprises to settle accounts that tie up their capital; removing the obstacles encountered in shipping and receiving operations and processing backlogged inventories; announcing the wholesale prices of all types of supplies and essential goods and the prices at which goods are delivered for exportation in accordance with the new price policy so that enterprises have the basis needed to calculate production costs and formulate their value plan in accordance with the new prices; and establishing the new wage per unit of product to lay the basis for contract work.

Building the new management mechanism in accordance with the resolutions of the party will entail an arduous and complex struggle. The leadership provided by the party is the factor that will determine victory in this struggle. Therefore, it is first of all necessary to strengthen this leadership. The mass organizations (Trade Union, Youth Union and so forth) must mobilize manual workers and civil servants to fulfill their role as collective masters and make every effort to overcome the difficulties being faced, step up production and practice thorough frugality. Issuing detailed regulations and strengthening the management and inspection activities conducted by state agencies are of special importance in the formation of the new management mechanism within industry.

By fully implementing the resolutions of the party and decisions of the state, state-operated industrial enterprises will surely bring about strong changes and achieve a new level of development for our country's industry.

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MOBILIZING THE MASSES IS A STRATEGIC TASK OF THE PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 13-18

[Article by Tran Quoc Hoan]

[Text] Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary science of the working class, always considers mobilizing the masses to be one of the strategic tasks of the proletarian party. Maintaining that the revolution is the undertaking of the masses, Marxism-Leninism expresses undying confidence in revolutionary movements of the masses. History is made by the laboring people. And, since the birth of Marxism-Leninism, this truth has been made ever more radiant by the revolutionary realities of the international communist movement, the national liberation movement, the struggle to liberate the class, socialist construction and the advance to communism.

Born of Vietnam's patriotic movement and the revolutionary movement of the Vietnamese working class combined with Marxism-Leninism, our party possessed the character of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party at its very inception. Through the realities of the arduous revolutionary struggle, our party has gained much experience in mobilizing the masses, as a result of which our country's revolution has advanced to victory after victory: we defeated our enemies, liberated the nation, reunified the country and have staunchly defended the fatherland.

Our victory in the historic Ho Chi Minh campaign ushered in a new era for our country, the era of socialist construction nationwide. Carrying out the "three revolutions" and the "two strategic tasks" at the same time is a difficult and large undertaking. With absolute confidence in the leadership of the Party Central Committee and closely united, our people have recorded enormous achievements in recent years in our new cause. The laboring people of our entire country have responded to and creatively carried out the socio-economic and security-national defense programs established by the 4th and 5th National Congresses of the Party, thereby recording gratifying results. Of even greater importance is the fact that during the past 10 years of building and defending the fatherland, new, socialist men and women have been and continue to emerge from within the revolutionary movements of the masses, men and women who possess the sense and spirit of collective ownership, the shining qualities of the working class and an increasing knowledge of culture, science and technology.

However, in the new stage, our failure to fully recognize the new requirements involved in our work among the masses plus the harmful consequences of maintaining the system of bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies for too long in each socio-economic activity have caused the organizations of the party as well as the entire proletarian dictatorship system to give light attention to mobilizing the masses and not widely draw the masses into organizations, into revolutionary action movements in order to educate and train them. Because we have not kept abreast of changes in the thinking and aspirations of the masses, we have failed to promptly and effectively resolve problems raised by mass movements. The right of collective ownership of the laboring people has been violated. Many cadres and party members do not or do not know how to mobilize the masses, are remote from the masses and have lost all ability to lead the masses. More than a few cadres and party members are degenerate or deviant and this has adversely affected the ties between the party and the masses.

These shortcomings have seriously affected efforts to carry out the political tasks of the party. They also pose the danger of causing the party to lose touch with the masses. These shortcomings are partially due to the fact that we embarked on the new period with little experience and have failed to seriously and regularly review what we have done. However, the basic causes are that we have not had a full understanding of the line and tasks of the revolution, in general, or the importance and task of mobilizing the masses, in particular, and are still giving light attention to the principles of the party concerning the relationship between the party and the masses and to forging the will of the working class throughout the party. Party committees must recognize these shortcomings and promptly take positive measures to bring the mobilization of the masses to the level required by the rising demands of the revolution. The Political Report presented at the 5th National Congress of the Party emphasized: "In the stage of the socialist revolution and, today, when our country's revolution has the two strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland, the importance of mobilizing the masses is not less, but greater."(1)

Our work among the masses must reflect the dialectical relationship that exists between the party and the laboring people, between the working class and the other classes and strata of society. Mobilizing the masses is an essential part of our line, not just a measure that we take. Giving light attention to work among the masses reflects a less than full understanding of the party's line. To be distant from the masses is to be distant from the line of the party. The relationship between the party and the masses is built upon Marxist-Leninist awareness and has been tested during the more than one-half century of our party's existence.

Transforming the old society and building the new is an exceedingly difficult and complex task. The profound and thorough struggle between the new and the old, between the revolution and counter-revolution, between the progressive and the backward is a struggle that takes place every minute of every hour in each of us, in each job that we perform, at every basic unit. Former slaves who have now become the masters of the country, persons who once worked for hire and whose every standard, especially their cultural, scientific and technical standards, was low, the laboring people of our country have been and are reaching the advanced levels of knowledge of our times. In years past, the needs of the citizen never went beyond things that were in sight, things that were close. Today, the demands of man are not only greater in number, but also higher, more varied, more sophisticated.

Through its more than 55 years of hard struggle, our party has brought political power to the laboring people. This is a very basic and important victory, is a turning point in the revolutionary cause of our party and people. Prior to the revolution, the laboring people had nothing but two bare hands. Now, the state belongs to the people. All assets of the nation, all capital, materials and natural resources are managed on behalf of the people by the administration. All the work of the country is being reorganized along socialist lines by the laboring people through the state. These are extremely favorable and basic conditions that permit us to move forward in building the new system, the new economy and the new culture, molding the new man and woman and building a solid and strong national defense system nationwide. However, with the party in power, the danger of becoming remote from the masses can arise if positive efforts are not made to prevent this from happening.

The initial stage of the period of transition to socialism in our country is taking place against the background of a very complex and turbulent international situation. The socialist system has constantly grown in size and strength and is, along with the national liberation movement and peace movement, overwhelming each reactionary power. The reactionary imperialists, headed by the U.S. imperialists, are continuing to pursue the arms race and creating a tense situation. The new enemies of our people, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, are attacking our country's revolution in a wide variety of ways every minute of every hour. Safeguarding peace is the common goal of the people of the world. For this reason, bringing the progressive masses of our planet together on the peace and anti-war front is an important and necessary effort. Viewed against this background, our party's work of mobilizing the masses assumes even greater significance.

Clearly, we face the need to organize our work among the masses in a more scientific and effective manner to insure that all obligations of the laboring people are fulfilled and that their right of collective ownership is upheld. The experience that we have gained in this work is very valuable. Now, in the face of the new requirements, this experience must be applied and augmented, must be made richer in content, must be made broader and more sophisticated in terms of the methods employed in this work.

The party must know the masses. However, what it should know about the masses and how it should go about learning what it should know, this is a science which every party member must make steadfast efforts to grasp. The processes of surveying, investigating and collecting information on the situation and aspirations of the masses must be expanded nationwide. We should not restrict ourselves to information obtained through conferences or from leaders and progressive model units. Rather, we must also obtain information through the deeply held thoughts and feelings of each person who is directly engaged in production at places that are weak and deficient and places where there are problems that need to be solved. Every available means of the proletarian dictatorship must be employed to convey knowledge of socialism, the lines and policies of the party, the laws of the state, science and technology, economic management and social management to the masses as accurately and quickly as possible and in the manner that is most easily understood. Every party member and cadre must be a skilled propagandist, a good mobilizer of the masses who listens to what the people have to say, who knows how to speak so that the people listen, who knows how to lead the masses and be their "truly loyal servant."

One of the important requirements in mobilizing the masses is the need to launch revolutionary movements of the masses. It is only through these movements that we can test the positions and policies of the party and state, successfully implement economic, social, security and national defense programs, correctly understand the corps of cadres and party members, provide the forces of the masses with practical training and mold the new, socialist man and woman. Our people have always judged the wisdom and growth of our party not on the basis of words and promises, but mainly by examining our ability to set forth and implement policies that produce visible results. Therefore, positions and policies should be adopted not to suit convenience but on the basis of the legitimate needs of social development, the work experience and the efforts of millions of laborers and the basic interests of the broad masses. A solid relationship between the party and the masses is not something that persists by itself once it has been established. It must constantly be strengthened and built. We should not understand organizing emulation as having launched a revolutionary movement nor should we leave everything involved in revolutionary movements up to the mass organizations. All components of the proletarian dictatorship system, from the central to the basic levels, must direct their activities toward the masses with the aim of launching revolutionary movements of the masses. Party committees must have targets, themes and methods of organizing movements and must adopt plans for conducting inspections and preliminary reviews, for regularly gaining experience so that they can, on this basis, adopt supplemental plans designed to bring movements to an increasingly high level of development.

In recent years, many party organizations, including the party organization of the municipality of Haiphong, the party organizations of Long An, Hau Giang and Kien Giang Provinces, the party organization of Tan Binh District (Ho Chi Minh City) and others, have provided us with many valuable lessons in mobilizing the masses. On the basis of the realities of the locality and the aspirations of the people and applying the positions and policies of the central level, Haiphong has learned how to launch suitable revolutionary movements, all oriented toward agricultural production, through such efforts as building dikes to claim land from the sea, reducing the acidity of fields and building soil fertility combined with product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers. The improved agricultural movement has brought a new character to Haiphong and enabled it to focus its efforts on industry, the handicraft trades and export goods. When performing these jobs, Haiphong attached importance to building solid and strong political bases in its wards, districts, subwards and villages, to mobilizing the masses and looking after the living conditions of the people. Tan Binh District (Ho Chi Minh City), which has selected the handicraft trades as the focus of its efforts, has restructured handicraft production within the district and, on this basis, built a new life for citizens who love to work but are still accustomed to the old competitive and disorganized liberal way of thinking. Hau Giang Province has concretized the slogan "agriculture is the front of foremost importance" through many revolutionary action programs that combine the transformation of production relations with the development of production forces and have brought about a continuous rise in crop yields and grain output over the past several years. Rapid, strong strides have also been made in collectivization. Under the slogan "the entire party and all the people participate in distribution and circulation," Long An Province has opened sources of goods with which to gradually meet the rising material and cultural needs of the local people. In the other provinces and municipalities, more and more beautiful examples of upholding the right of collective ownership and achieving a combined strength have emerged, efforts which have produced fine results.

It is clear that wherever we succeed in satisfying the aspirations of the masses and meeting the goals of the revolution, the relationship between the party and the masses is strengthened and the broad masses are drawn into the struggle to successfully implement the positions and policies advanced by the party.

In the recent past, many party committees, considering mobilizing the masses to be a strategic task, have made an effort to look after the needs of the mass organizations. However, this effort has frequently stopped at assigning persons to lead the mass organizations and because there is not a full appreciation of the political importance of the mass organizations, methods to provide them with close, constant and comprehensive leadership and guidance have not been adopted. The basic organizations of the party must fully realize the strength that they have in the mass organizations. Conversely, the mass organizations must clearly realize that their political base is the organizations of the party. The mass organizations must take positive steps to improve the forms of organization and methods they use to bring the masses together and must avail themselves of every condition that exists for drawing each stratum into their organization in order to unite and mobilize them to successfully perform the tasks of the revolution. The basic organizations of the party must regularly set specific tasks for themselves with regard to leading the mass organizations and employ appropriate forms of activities for providing this leadership.

The right of collective ownership of the laboring people is exercised most directly through the various levels of the administration. Looking after the work of the administration is an exceedingly important task of the various party committee echelons. Our administration is elected by the people and serves the people. It must be led and inspected to insure that it properly upholds the right of collective ownership of the people. Persons who are not qualified, who violate the right of collective ownership of the people must be removed from the administration and socio-economic management apparata. Determined efforts must be made to eliminate bureaucratic centralism and stop the intimidation of the masses with a view toward strengthening the people's confidence in management agencies. The state has the task of successfully implementing economic, social, security and national defense programs but must also always give its attention to molding the new man and woman. Today, economic agencies and administrative apparata on the various levels, engrossed as they are in meeting economic targets, have forgotten the results that can be achieved through education, through building the various political organizations.

To succeed in the areas of work mentioned above, we must return to the task of building the party. In particular, we must strengthen the relationship between the party and the masses. This relationship must be placed firmly upon the foundation of Marxism-Leninism by means of party organizational work, by means of the policies and laws of the state.

The higher the political qualities, revolutionary virtues and job skills of party members are, the larger and stronger are the prestige and influence of the party among the masses. On the other hand, the more the level of awareness and spirit of activism of the masses are raised, the more party members face new demands from the standpoint of their role and qualifications. The class character of the party member must be examined from many different perspectives. One of these perspectives is that the party member not be distant from the masses. We must maintain the class nature of the party by doing more to train party members in the views of Marxism-Leninism and the stand of the working class and attaching importance to developing the party among the working class and quickly putting more manual workers on party committees. Manual workers still account for a low percentage of the membership of the party committees of basic units, districts, provinces and industrial zones. The party member must be close to the masses in every aspect of his work, production and daily life and must consider himself to be the strong link between the party organization and the masses. Taking steps to strengthen the basic organizations of the party to insure that each basic production unit and each residential area has a basic organization of the party that is pure, solid and strong is an important requirement in strengthening the relationship between the party and the masses.

To assist the party in its work among the masses, a system of mass agitation organizations of the party has been formed. The various party committee echelons must support every aspect of this system very well. Cadres who are assigned to mass agitation by the party must be persons who possess a firm political stand, pure qualities and ethics, a certain knowledge of culture, science, economic management and social management and the ability to educate, organize and mobilize the masses. Although small, this corps of cadres must be alert and skilled, must be effective and creative in using the masses to educate the masses and must gain experience in mass agitation from the masses themselves and from mass movements. Full importance must be attached to semi-professional mass agitation cadres and to mobilizing capable, zealous and responsible persons to participate in this work. Party committees must actively utilize and train the masses as well as cadres who perform mass work. We must fully realize the strategic importance of mass work. This realization must lead to great ambitions, to firm confidence, to overcoming each difficulty we face in order to bring the shining revolutionary ideals of the party to the masses.

Party Secretariat directive number 53 on mass work has been issued just as we embark on the struggle to dismantle bureaucratic centralism and state-subsidies and build the new mechanism in economic and social management. The overriding spirit of the resolutions of the 8th and 9th Party Plenums demands that our entire party and all our people march steadily forward with firm resolve, without hesitating or wavering, but without being impetuous or subjective either and successfully implement the strategic guidelines of the party in building the new economic structure and the new management mechanism.

We have accomplished much in the recent past but also displayed some rather serious shortcomings, as have been clearly pointed out by the Political Bureau and Secretariat. These shortcomings have caused considerable harm to economic and social development and reduced the confidence and revolutionary spirit that the masses bring to the implementation of the directives and resolutions of the party.

In the spirit of serious self-criticism and criticism, all organizations of the party, all cadres and party members must re-examine their level of awareness and work. Having done this, they must bring about true changes in the mobilization of the masses and successfully launch a widespread and strong revolutionary movement among the masses, one that generates intense revolutionary spirit and firm confidence in the party. Only in this way can we meet each challenge, correct thinking that is conservative and slow to change as well as thinking that is fragmented and disorganized, implement the resolutions of the 8th and 9th Party Plenums in the best possible manner, excellently complete our two strategic tasks and record achievements in celebration of the party's 6th Congress.

FOOTNOTES

1. Van kien Dai hoi V [Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 118.

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THE CHANGES IN THE VIETNAM WOMEN'S UNION 10 YEARS AFTER REUNIFICATION

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[Article by Nguyen Thi Dinh]

[Text] Since the day that the country was reunified and embarked on building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland, the Vietnam women's movement has undergone important changes and recorded achievements very deserving of pride, thereby helping the entire party and the rest of the people carry out the two strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution well and continuously advancing the cause of women's liberation.

During the past 10 years, in keeping with the views of the party that the cause of women's liberation cannot be separated from the causes of liberating the class and liberating the people and that the women's movement must define the problems it must solve for itself on the basis of the common revolutionary tasks of the people, the Vietnam Women's Union has set for itself specific, appropriate tasks designed to organize, educate and mobilize the mass of women to work hard to carry out the central tasks of the party and meet the socioeconomic targets of the state and concern themselves with solving problems related to the interests and living conditions of women and children.

To meet the requirements of the tasks of the revolution in the stage of the entire country carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction and staunchly defending the gains made by the revolution, the Vietnam Women's Union launched the "new woman building and defending the fatherland" movement, the themes of which are the following four:

--Emulating in productive labor and the practice of frugality and carrying out the positions and policies of the party and state well;

--Participating in combat support and combat operations, performing army rear area work well, caring for the children of war dead, caring for the families of disabled veterans, the families of war dead and the families of troops who are short of help and encouraging husbands and sons to fulfill their military obligation;

--Organizing the family well, raising children in accordance with the five teachings of Uncle Ho and practicing planned parenthood;

--Uniting, providing mutual assistance and helping one another to struggle, learn and raise their standards in every field.

This represents a higher and more comprehensive level of development than the "three responsibilities" movement during the years of the resistance against the United States for national salvation. Because, the "new woman building and defending the fatherland" movement demands that women develop in every respect in accordance with the requirements of the new socialist man and woman. The new woman must be a good citizen who is loyal to the socialist fatherland, possesses awareness of socialist ideals, displays the spirit of collective ownership, works creatively and excellently completes each task. The new woman must also know how to properly combine personal interests with the interests of the collective and the state and always struggle, learn and raise her standards in every respect in order to meet the requirements of her tasks in the new stage. The new, socialist woman must also be a model mother who raises her children by scientific methods and teaches them in accordance with the five teachings of Uncle Ho to teenagers and children. She must be a wife who knows how to organize and build a family of quality, harmony and happiness and must practice planned parenthood.

In view of these requirements, women must endeavor to not only be competent in the work of the home and country, as was the case in the "three responsibilities" movement, but must "be skilled in the work of the country, be competent in the work of the home and achieve equality between the sexes." Each year, in order for the movement to achieve good results, the Vietnam Women's Union launches specific movements based on the central tasks of the party with the aims of supporting the party's political task, implementing the state plan and resolving problems concerning the interests of women and children. On the basis of the specific guidelines, tasks and targets for each year, the Central Committee of the Union launches an emulation campaign among the provinces and municipalities and instructs the localities in the activities to be conducted. The "new woman building and defending the fatherland" movement is a new stage of development in the women's movement, one that has helped to advance the three revolutions and support both socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland. At the same time, women themselves have grown and matured in every way through this movement.

Under the themes emulating in productive labor and the practice of frugality and carrying out the positions and policies of the party and state well, women farmers, manual workers and civil servants, women in the handicraft trades, in scientific and technical research, in literature and art and women serving in all sectors and levels have made new efforts and new progress.

Women farmers in the provinces of the South have participated in transforming production relations and helped to build production collectives and cooperatives, thereby contributing to the virtual completion of agricultural collectivization in the southern provinces. The women farmers of the North have actively implemented the policy on final product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers, thus helping to perfect the socialist production relations within agriculture. By participating in the transformation of private, capitalist commerce and the transformation of agriculture, women have helped to advance the production relations revolution in our country. Through their participation in the transformation of agriculture, the transformation of private, capitalist commerce and the transformation and management of the market, women have gained an increasing awareness of the struggle between socialism and capitalism. They understand that the liberation of women and the achievement of equality between men and women under the law as well as in everyday life are closely tied to the socialist revolution. Only the socialist revolution, only the socialist state under the leadership of the party of the working class can truly liberate women. Socialist production relations create the conditions for women to develop their talents and their creativity in labor. Because, on the basis of socialist production and the public ownership of the means of production, women have been able to display their ability to be masters and display their creativity. The emulation movement to work with high productivity, quality and efficiency has helped women to consciously accept and apply scientific and technical advances in production in order to raise their labor productivity and achieve equality with men. The party of the working class and the socialist system always create the legal conditions for women to achieve equality with men. In practice, however, whether or not women achieve equality depends upon whether or not their standards and skills meet the requirements of their tasks. And, the equality of women is, above everything else, equality in labor, is a matter of whether the contributions made by women in the various fields of social activity are commensurate with their positions. Adopted on the basis of this requirement, the theme of the "new woman" movement of struggling, learning and raising her standards in every field has helped women to emulate in the study of culture, science, technology, specialized fields and professions so that women are fully capable of completing the tasks assigned to them well. On the other hand, the socialist system of production demands that women achieve an increasingly high level of education so that they can learn and apply new technology. As a result, it is a pressing, objective demand that women struggle, learn and raise their standards. During the past 10 years, women have made significant progress in raising their level of education. Women accounted for 20.3 percent of the total number of persons with a college education in 1975. By 1985, this figure had risen to 33 percent. The number of women holding Ph.D., M.A. and M.S. degrees rose from 103 in 1975 to 373 in 1985. The number of women teachers has increased by more than 50 times. These are achievements of the women's movement. At the same time, they are products of the three revolutions in our country. Recently, the Party Secretariat issued Directive 44 concerning a number of urgent problems in women cadre work. The state has issued resolution 176a on expanding the role and tapping the capabilities of women in the cause of building and defending the socialist fatherland. The directive of the party and the resolution of the state were adopted on the basis of the requirements of the tasks of our country's revolution in the current stage. At the same time, they demand the development of the women's movement. In the more than 1 year that Directive 44 and Resolution 176a have been in effect, the various party committee echelons have made changes in how they evaluate the role, position and capabilities of women, given more attention to creating the conditions that women workers and cadres need and begun to record a number of concrete results. Experience has shown that wherever the party committee is concerned and the administration creates good conditions, women cadres have been able to display their skills and creativity and make effective contributions to the economic construction and cultural and social development of the locality. Such has been the case in Haiphong, Quang Nam-Da Nang Province, Hai Hung Province, Hau Giang Province, Ho Chi Minh City and other places. Through the "new woman building and defending the fatherland" movement, the Women's Union has continuously mobilized and guided women in exercising their right of collective ownership by participating in inspecting and supervising the implementation of regulations and policies of the party and laws of the state and exposing and struggling against negative phenomena in society. Also through this movement, army rear area work, the care of families of disabled veterans and war dead, the care of orphans and the care of war victims have been improved. In 1984, in the "supporting our soldiers on the frontlines" movement, women contributed more than 44 million dong to buy blankets and warm jackets for soldiers. In 1985, they bought one-half million warm jackets for our soldiers fighting along the border and on the islands.

Besides the two strategic tasks of the revolution, the "new woman building and defending the fatherland" movement has truly given attention to resolving problems concerning the interests of women and children, thus providing women with the conditions to produce, work and study better.

During the first years following liberation, the various levels of the Women's Union in the South, working together with the various sectors, solved the problems left behind by the war. For example, "restore human dignity" schools were opened to reeducate prostitutes, drug addicts and vagrant children, teach them an occupation and teach them to work and live honestly through their own labor. The various levels of the Union have coordinated with a number of related sectors in organizing phases of study to heighten the sense of responsibility of women as mothers. During the three years from 1983 to 1985, some 5.5 million mothers participated in this effort and were trained in how to raise their children by scientific methods. In coordination with the protection of mothers and children sector, the different levels of the Union have organized child care centers in the countryside and along streets so that women can go to their jobs with peace of mind. To directly care for women and children, the levels of the Union have agitated among their members to contribute labor to the construction of childbirth rooms, offices for pediatric care and village and subward maternity clinics. In 1984, this movement developed throughout the 40 provinces and municipalities and attracted more than 40 million dong for the purchase of implements and equipment for the childbirth rooms, pediatric offices and maternity clinics. The Union has closely coordinated with the public health sector and the National Population Commission to urge women to practice planned parenthood and help provide them with the conditions needed to raise their children and have time to relax and study.

Through the activities conducted under the themes mentioned above, the Women's Union became closely tied to the overall revolutionary movement of the people. In the reviews of 5 years of the "new woman building and defending the fatherland" movement, 4,628,000 women have, on the basis of the four themes mentioned above, earned the title "new woman" for 5 years in a row. In the shift of the revolution from the national democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, the women of Vietnam have quickly taken on and consciously carried out the tasks set by the party.

The Vietnam Women's Union, an organization that represents the right of collective ownership and right of equality of women, has always correctly defined its position and task within the overall revolutionary movement, taken positions that are appropriate and specific and developed both the role and capabilities of women, thereby making worthy contributions to the revolutionary cause of the party and the nation. In guiding the movement, many levels of the Women's Union, from the central to the local levels, have quickly responded to and focused their efforts on the central tasks of the party, displayed flexibility and initiative, revamped their mode of operation and sought the maximum degree of leadership from the various party committee echelons and assistance from the sectors and associated mass organizations in order to successfully perform each task.

In the process of guiding the performance of tasks, the various levels of the Women's Union have conducted investigations and surveys and assessed the movement's situation and changes in the thinking, feelings and everyday lives of women in order to suggest to the party and state the requirements of the movement and the mass of women and taken measures to promptly meet them. This has caused the mass of women to see the Women's Union as their base, as the organization that looks after their interests and living conditions and also the organization that represents their right of ownership. As a result, women have a very close attachment to the Women's Union. The prestige of the Women's Union has steadily risen.

Through the revolutionary action movements of women, the Union's corps of cadres has quickly grown and matured. In the southern provinces, through the work of strengthening the executive committees on the various levels, a number of core cadres of the movement have been selected each year for training. Today, women are fully capable of leading the movement, expanding their corps and taking dynamic steps to revamp the way that activities are conducted. As a result, 10 years after liberation, the women's movement has made uniform progress nationwide. Also through revolutionary action movements, the standards of the Union's cadres have been raised and their knowledge of economic management, state management and social management have been increased. As a result, the various levels of the Women's Union have been able to participate in inspecting and supervising the implementation of the systems and policies that pertain to women and children by the different sectors and levels, participate in managing the market and transforming small merchants, participate in distribution and circulation, etc.

These are the major lessons that the various levels of the Women's Union have learned 10 years after reunification in order to conduct better activities in the years ahead.

Besides the strongpoints described above, the women's movement also has certain limitations. They are that the overall standards of women are still low. Some levels and cadres of the Women's Union lack dynamism and creativity, have not quickly responded to the new situation and new tasks, have not adopted practical themes and have not revamped their mode of activity to suit the increasingly high requirements of tasks. At some places, especially in the mountains, along the seacoast and in important areas, the basic organizations of the Women's Union are still weak. The activity themes of the Women's Union at some places are dry and uninteresting and do not draw women into revolutionary action movements. At some places, executive committees are not correctly fulfilling their function as the leadership's staff, do not seek the leadership of the party committee and are still hesitant and withdrawn. In the guidance they provide, many places fail to focus on the matters of central importance, do not conduct pilot projects and then apply what they have learned on a broad scale and do not conduct preliminary or final reviews in order to promptly gain experience. Many women do not reflect a full sense of being the masters of their country and do not respect labor discipline or the laws of the state. Some women still earn their livings illegally, engage in superstitious practices and lead a style of life that is extravagant and wasteful. Many women are still heavily burdened by a feeling of inferiority, by fatalism, by the lack of a will to struggle and move forward. These limitations are partly the fault of women themselves, partly due to the many difficulties still being encountered in everyday life, partly due to the fact that the situation surrounding the management of the economy and the management of society is not good and partly the responsibility of the Women's Union. The Women's Union has not established suitable themes and modes of activity nor has it taken measures to closely guide each category of women so that problems can be promptly resolved. Union cadres have not been trained in all the knowledge they need to direct and guide the activities of the Union and provide closer inspection and supervision and make suggestions to the party and state concerning matters related to policies and systems that apply to women.

To correct the limitations described above, advance the women's movement to new levels of development and meet the requirements of tasks in the current stage, the Central Committee of the Vietnam Women's Union has decided to continue to promote the "new woman building and defending the fatherland" movement, the main themes of which are to raise the socialist awareness and spirit of collective ownership of women, gain a clear understanding of the basic spirit of the resolutions of the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th Party Plenums, participate in formulating production plans from the basic units upward and participate in reorganizing production, restructuring the labor force and accelerating the movement to work and produce with high productivity, quality and efficiency, with productivity, quality and efficiency being the measurements of the qualities of the new, socialist woman. We must accelerate the development of the household economy and develop the trades in order to help provide local jobs, raise family income, stabilize the standard of living and produce increased wealth for society. We must practice thorough frugality in production and consumption. We must intensify the inspection and supervision of the implementation of the systems and policies that pertain to women and children. We must participate in the formulation of new policies that are compatible with the new management mechanism. We must participate in the transformation and management of the market. We must do more to care for the interests and living conditions of women and children. We must perform good army rear area work and care for the soldiers performing their duty on the frontline.

In order for women to fulfill their weighty and glorious tasks described above, the Central Committee of the Vietnam Women's Union suggests that the party give more attention to the elementary and advanced training of the corps of women cadres, especially the core cadres of the women's movement, so that women possess the knowledge and skill needed to organize and guide the performance of the central tasks of the party and the implementation of the Union's work programs well. The organization of the Women's Union must be strengthened, especially on the basic and district levels, so that the Union is fully capable of taking the initiative in its work, widely rallying the mass of women and mobilizing all strata of women to perform revolutionary tasks well.

Women make up 46 percent of the labor force within the state economic sector and 60 percent within the collective economic sector. If the party organizations and administrations on all levels concern themselves with creating the necessary conditions, women will display their creative work skills and make enormous contributions to the revolutionary cause of the party and nation.

The Vietnam Women's Union, the representative of the right of ownership and the right of equality of women and women's school of socialism, has been and will continue to organize, mobilize and teach the mass of women to unite and struggle to perform political tasks well and meet the socio-economic target set by the party, thus bringing prosperity to the country and happiness to the generations of tomorrow.

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WHY WAS OUR PARTY ABLE TO SEIZE THE RIGHT TO LEAD THE REVOLUTION AS SOON AS IT WAS BORN?

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 25-30

[Article by Le Ngoc]

[Text] On 3 February 1930, the Communist Party of Vietnam was born.

Immediately after its birth, our party turned its hands to leading the masses in the struggle against the imperialists and feudalists, the struggle for the welfare of the people and democracy, a struggle which led to a tide of revolution throughout the country, the pinnacle of which was the Nghe-Tinh Soviet Movement, which lasted for more than 1 year. The working class was in the forefront of and led this movement. The majority of peasants, instead of responding to the Yen Bai uprising of the Vietnam Nationalist Party on 9 February 1930, supported the party.

Thus, our party seized the right to lead the revolution at its very inception. This was a major victory, a special strongpoint of our party very deserving of pride. It was also an event rarely seen in the history of the world revolutionary movement.

It was not by accident that our party seized the right to lead the revolution as soon as it came into existence. There were very deep objective and subjective causes underlying this development. By gaining an understanding of these causes, we learn more about the splendid nature and unparalleled tradition of our party and, in the process, gain deeper pride in our party and Uncle Ho and study a model of how our party successfully applied Marxist-Leninist doctrine to the specific conditions of our country and fulfilled the hopes of our friends in the world.

To begin with, it must be pointed out that our party's seizing the right to lead the revolution at an early date was closely related to the very favorable international circumstances that existed at that time. The great Russian October Socialist Revolution has won victory. Marxism-Leninism had defeated international opportunism. The 3rd International was established in March 1919. The line on the revolution in the colonies and semi-colonial countries had been mapped out by the 6th Congress of the Communist International in September 1928. The revolutionary movement was seething in Asia.

In our country, the struggle for national liberation was developing strongly but lacked leadership. The feudal class had become corrupt and outmoded. The small, cowardly bourgeoisie was incapable of leading our people's struggle. For several decades, the lack of a line to follow kept our country in a state of crisis and the "situation seemed hopeless."

The birth of our party and its immediate assumption of the role of leading the revolution were an historic necessity and met the needs of the situation at that time. They were the logical result of a long process of preparation, the great credit for which belongs to Ho Chi Minh.

Ho Chi Minh adopted Marxism-Leninism at an early date and was very loyal to this doctrine. He, as pointed out by Lenin to the communists in the East, performed a "difficult task": "With the general theory and practice of communism as your base, you must adapt yourselves to special conditions that do not exist in the countries of Europe and learn how to apply this theory and practice at places where the masses are mainly peasants... This is a difficult task."(1)

Ho Chi Minh successfully performed many important jobs, from correctly learning Marxist-Leninist doctrine to applying this theory to the specific conditions of Vietnam in order to spread Marxism-Leninism and make ideological-political and organizational preparations for the founding of the party.

Ideologically, he studied, learned and introduced to the worker movement and the patriotic movement many important theoretical issues, most significantly the following several:

1. The age: one of the most important prerequisites to developing a correct revolutionary line was the need to quickly grasp the essence of the new age, the age of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale, an age that began with the great Russian October Revolution. Lenin pointed out: "Only by examining the major features of different 'ages'(not the separate stages of history within each country), can we correctly define our tactics; and only by understanding the fundamental characteristics of an age can we turn our attention to the specific characteristics of one country or another."(2)

As they continue to do today, lengthy debates broke out in the past concerning this issue, with one side affirming the significance of the October Revolution in ushering in a new age and the other side denying or diminishing the worldwide historic significance of this revolution. President Ho was quick to recognize the role of the Russian October Revolution in ushering in a new age. He wrote: "The Russian Revolution has driven off the czar, capitalists and landowners and given workers and peasants of all countries and all oppressed peoples in the colonies the strength to make revolution in order to topple all imperialists and capitalists in the world."(3)

2. The national liberation revolution: all patriotic Vietnamese recognize the need to fight the imperialists and win independence. However, of even more basic importance was the need to understand the law of the national

liberation revolution in the new age, that is, the need to face this revolution within the sphere of the proletarian revolution and advancing to socialism once the strategic task of this revolution had been virtually completed.

During the years from 1923 to 1927, before they were educated by Uncle Ho, many patriotic organizations in our country continued to espouse an old-style anti-imperialist revolution. In 1920, while still active in France, Uncle Ho adopted the views of Lenin concerning the national and colonial questions. He asserted: "Only by liberating the proletariat can we liberate the nation; these two liberation causes can only be the causes of communism and the world revolution."(4)

3. The weapon of ideology: while imperialism and bourgeois ideologues were spewing forth many theories to disorient the masses, from reformism and bigoted nationalism to non-alarmism and anti-Sovietism, extolling bourgeois democracy and distorting Marxism-Leninism, Uncle Ho forcefully asserted: "There are many different doctrines and philosophies today, but the most genuine, most reliable and most revolutionary is Leninism."(5) He especially criticized the erroneous political trends that were exerting influence in Vietnam. He praised Mr. Ton Van, a great Chinese patriot. However, he also pointed out that "the platform of his party--the Nationalist Party--is a reform platform." Uncle Ho revealed the true meaning of the slogans of the 1789 French bourgeois revolution and showed that the words "liberty," "equality" and "fraternity" were nothing more than ideals used to "adorn the tarnished medal" of the wholly criminal system of exploitation of colonialist capitalism.

4. The enemy: the French colonialists constantly sought to conceal their true identity. Those who went off to invade and ruthlessly rule and oppress other nations were portrayed as civilizers. This tactic did produce certain results. For this reason, Uncle Ho wrote a book--"French Colonialization on Trial"--denouncing the crimes of colonialism and exposing its true nature as a "robber," "rapist" and "murderer."

5. International solidarity: on the basis of the realization that the revolution of each country is an integral party of the world revolution, Uncle Ho pointed out: "Anyone who makes revolution in the world is a comrade of the Vietnamese. Persons who are comrades share joys and sorrows."(6) Together with clearly defining the strategic significance of international solidarity, he stressed the thinking of self-reliance, of using our own forces to liberate ourselves and taking the initiative in winning victory without relying upon or waiting for the proletarian revolution to win victory in the imperialist countries. He wrote: "If Vietnamese workers know how to organize themselves, the Red International will surely help them in every way possible to carry out their revolution. However, in order for them to help us, we must first help ourselves."(7)

These were very basic theoretical issues. They were difficult issues to correctly understand and even more difficult to correctly introduce to the Vietnamese, who, although patriotic, had done little or nothing by way of researching theory. However, through determination, persistence and correct methods, Uncle Ho helped many patriotic Vietnamese youths and progressive workers and laborers quickly learn about the basic issues described above and promptly put their faith in Marxism-Leninism, in the national salvation line mapped out by Uncle Ho. Moreover, historic experience had clearly shown that wherever there was a revolutionary movement, there was also a need to understand revolutionary theory and a readiness to accept this theory. The working class and nation of Vietnam possessed a fervent spirit of patriotism and unyielding struggle against foreign aggression. The awakening and development of this traditional patriotism by Uncle Ho was an exceedingly favorable factor in the spread of Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam. In our country, therefore, the struggle against reformism, against non-alarmism was given special attention and also quickly resulted in victory. The struggle between the new style line on national liberation (led by the proletariat) and the old-style line (led by the bourgeoisie) was a sharper struggle, especially against the Vietnam Nationalist Party. However, this struggle also quickly produced results: reformism and the support for a "bourgeois national revolution" were defeated and the majority of patriots, including some members of the Vietnam Nationalist Party, abandoned their old stand and supported the course charted by Uncle Ho. This was one of the important conditions underlying our party's assertion of its role as leader of the revolution.

Politically, the process of establishing basic views concerning the theory behind the national liberation revolution was also the process of defining the major features of the revolutionary line. The struggle in the ideological field was also a struggle over which line to follow. However, when they personally began drafting and propagandizing the line, Uncle Ho and the other elders of the party were unable to avoid a struggle over methodology, that is, over how to apply Marxism-Leninism and international experience in a way truly compatible with the specific conditions of Vietnam.

Our party announced a correct line as soon as it was born. It was to wage a new style bourgeois democratic revolution and advance to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development. In the first stage of this revolution, the two strategic tasks of fighting the imperialists and fighting the feudalists had to be closely coordinated. The main forces of the revolution would be workers and peasants, on the basis of whom a national united front would be established and expanded. The revolution would seize political power by means of violent force. In order for the revolution to be victorious, it had to be led by the party, by the Vietnamese working class with the assistance of the Soviet Union and the working class of all countries and oppressed nations. These were the most basic elements of the political line.

The drafting of the Political Platform entailed a process of making relatively thorough preparations. Between 1921 and 1925, Uncle Ho outlined the broad features of this line in many documents, especially in the work "The Revolutionary Road." In June 1929, under the light of the resolution of the 6th Congress of the Communist International, the Indochinese Communist Party issued a declaration in the nature of a platform, in which it especially stressed that "cropland is the issue of paramount importance to tillers."

The Summary Platform and Summary Tactics that were adopted by the Conference To Found the Party and subsequently refined by Tran Phu developed President Ho's thinking concerning the form of violent revolutionary force to be employed in Vietnam in greater detail.

The political line of the party closely combined the national factor and the class factor. We know that before they adopted Marxism-Leninism, more than a few persons only addressed the national question, not the class question and that when they achieved communist awareness, they spoke only about the class question without addressing or fully addressing the national question. Our Uncle Ho was not such a person. He was a patriot who advanced to Marxism-Leninism and grew to be an even greater patriot when he became a communist. Through his experience, he led our people down the path that he, himself, had followed. In particular, he developed the patriotic spirit of our people on the basis of the stand of the proletariat. And, it was also through this thinking that Uncle Ho made many contributions to the storehouse of revolutionary experience. He especially displayed a correct and scientific approach in analyzing the attitudes of the various classes in Vietnam and defining the landowner class and imperialists as the targets of the revolution while maintaining that the ranks of landowners still had to be divided; in building and expanding the united national front on the basis of the solid alliance of workers and peasants; in establishing the relationship between the requirements of the struggle for national independence and the requirements of international solidarity, etc.

The platform of the party also reflected coordination between strategy and strategic leadership. Revolutionary strategy is the political line for an entire stage. Strategic leadership renders strategic targets as specific objectives for each period. Uncle Ho asserted that the French imperialists were "using the Vietnamese feudalists, powerful counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and landowners to oppress and exploit the Vietnamese" but he still advocated toppling the large landowners first and "using" or at least "neutralizing" the stratum of small landowners.

It was not by accident that Uncle Ho drafted the Summary Platform and the Summary Tactics as well.

Regrettably, some localities did not have a thorough understanding of the above mentioned views of the party and made the "leftist" mistake of attacking "intellectuals," "wealthy peasants," "landowners" and "officials" as well in 1930 and 1931. The party quickly corrected and overcame this mistake.

Thus, from the very outset, the line adopted by our party was a Marxist line-a line that was scientific and creative in every way, a line free of reformism and nationalism, a line that met the requirements of the revolution, reflected the legitimate aspirations of the people and had the force to attract, inspire and rally people behind the party. This was the most decisive factor in the leadership role of our party.

Organizationally, building the party's organization was as much a process as building the party politically. In 1925, Uncle Ho founded the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth--a transitional organization of socialist leaning--to promote the spread of Marxism-Leninism to the worker movement and the patriotic movement. The establishment of a transitional organization to prepare for the founding of a party is something that has frequently been seen in the history of the founding of a party in many countries. However, the difference here was that the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth was the first step in combining Marxism-Leninism with the worker movement and the patriotic movement. Although it was an association, it had the "Brigade of Communist Youth" as its leadership nucleus, agitated among workers and peasants and used the "proletarianization" movement to forge the class stand of cadres.

The Vietnamese working class was born in the early 20th century and developed rapidly during the years from 1924 to 1929. Many large-scale struggles broke out. The slogans of workers in these struggles not only reflected economic interests, but also political demands. However, by 1925, the worker movement was still basically a spontaneous movement. The objective need facing the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth was to bring this movement to the point of conscious activities.

In tandem with the worker movement, there was also an intense patriotic movement, especially in 1925 and 1926. However, this patriotic movement still had the major drawbacks of not having a clearly defined line or following the old anti-imperialist and feudalist line. The patriotic movement also demanded correct leadership. The birth of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth and the subsequent birth of the communist party met this demand.

The Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth performed the service of advancing the worker movement from a spontaneous to a conscious movement and orienting the patriotic movement in accordance with the line of Marxism-Leninism. At the same time, however, it also revealed its shortcoming: an inability to lead the continued advance of the revolution. Then, in the space of 7 months, three different communist organizations came into being. The need to found the party had fully developed. And, the party came into being by merging and developing upon these organizations.

The birth of our party was the result of combining Marxism-Leninism with the worker movement and patriotic movement of Vietnam. The party could only lead the revolution if it had a widespread base and was constantly forged and challenged in the revolutionary movement of the masses. Building the party through the revolutionary movement of the masses meant that organization and the struggle had to be closely tied together. The purpose of organization was to make it possible to struggle. The purpose of struggle was to forge and consolidate the organization. From the revolutionary movement of the masses, the party selected many outstanding persons to train and accept into the party. As the party grew stronger, the revolutionary movement of the masses surged. The enemy was unable to destroy the party because they could not destroy the powerful and inexhaustible forces of the masses.

Our party was able to immediately turn its hands to leading the struggle against the imperialists and their lackeys the feudalists as soon as it was born because our party not only possessed ideological, political and organizational unity, but also possessed unity in action. The unity and consensus within the party were the prerequisite to uniting and leading all the people, beginning with workers and peasants. In practice, the broad masses acknowledged the policy of the party as being consistent with their aspirations and interests and acknowledged the party as their leader, as an organization in which they could place their trust. And, also in practice, the party clearly displayed its leadership and organizational skills. The party won the right to lead by mapping out a correct line and organizing the implementation of this line, by organizing a brave, day to day struggle. The political prestige of the party and its right to lead the revolution were unquestioned because they stemmed from the historic mission of the party, from its revolutionary and scientific character, from its practical organizational standards and skills and from the invincible strength of the basic masses of the party--the mass of workers and peasants.

Summarizing the experience gained in establishing the party's leadership role, Uncle Ho stated that the party should not demand that the people acknowledge its right to lead, "but must show itself as being the most loyal, most active and most sincere element. Only when, in the day to day struggle and everyday work, the broad masses acknowledge the correct policies and the leadership skill of the party does the party secure the position of leader."(8)

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979, Volume 39, p 372.

2. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Volume 21, p 157.

3. Ho Chi Minh: "Toan tap,"[Collected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1981, Volume 2, p 206-207.

4. Ibid., p 162.

5. Ibid., p 189.

6. Ibid., p 233.

7. Ibid., p 224.

8. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap,"[Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1980, Volume I, p 319.

7809
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THE HO CHI MINH CITY PARTY ORGANIZATION LEADS YOUTH WORK

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 31-36, 47

[Article by Le Huyen Thong]

[Text] Ho Chi Minh City is a major industrial, scientific-technical, international trade and tourist center, a place that has many favorable objective conditions enjoyed by few other cities in our country. At the same time, Ho Chi Minh City is one of the places at which we must contend with the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers. Conscious of its importance to the rest of the country and recognizing the large role played by youths, the Ho Chi Minh City party organization has always viewed the mobilization of youths to be a task of strategic importance.

Political Bureau Resolution Number 26 dated 4 July 1985 on "strengthening the party's leadership of youth work" has further inspired the city party organization to display an even greater sense of responsibility, fully evaluate the youth situation, draw important lessons and experience from the past 10 years of leading youth work and intensify the mobilization of youths to take the lead in the two strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland.

Attention to Quality and Efficiency

The youths of the city have a patriotic tradition. In addition, they are educated, come into contact with mechanization early in their lives, readily adopt the industrial way of thinking and style and are very dynamic and responsive to the new. During the past several years, on the basis of these characteristics, it has been the policy of the city party committee that the Youth Union revamp its mode of operation and methods of agitation in order to meet the needs of youths in the new stage. The effort to teach revolutionary ideals to youths must be closely tied to molding the new socialist man and woman. The resolution of the city party organization emphasizes: there are Vietnamese youths, in general, but there are also youths in each locality, youths who live at a specific point in history. Consequently, the youth movement must have specific targets, appropriate slogans of action and a suitable organizational structure in order to rally forces, carry out the tasks of the revolution well and satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the young.

In keeping with this policy, the revolutionary action movement of the youths of Ho Chi Minh City has been oriented in recent years toward areas in which weaknesses exist, difficult jobs and new jobs and has closely adhered to the political task of the party organization during each different period.

During the period from 1975 to 1978, the city party organization led the Youth Union in organizing and mobilizing youths to take the lead in restoring and developing the economy, stabilizing the standard of living and maintaining political security and social order and safety. At first, with only 550 Youth Union members, the city focused its efforts on performing jobs of pressing importance while attaching importance to developing the Youth Union. By the end of 1975, Youth Union membership had increased 25-fold. In 1976, the Youth Union organized a shock youth force consisting of 15,000 young laborers who volunteered to go build new economic zones and mobilized nearly 70,000 youths to participate in the struggle to eliminate the compradore bourgeoisie. Through these challenges, tens of thousands of additional youths became Youth Union members.

In 1979 and 1980, the city experienced many difficulties with the economy and standard of living and the enemy launched their wide-ranging war of sabotage. Repeated natural disasters occurred. However, through the steadfast leadership of the party organization, the revolutionary tradition of youths was tapped. Thousands of youths left to fight the enemy. Many Youth Union chapters remained at their machines maintaining production, strengthening their organization and taking the lead in difficult tasks. By the end of 1980, Youth Union membership had increased to nearly 100,000, or 11 percent of the city's youths.

The period from 1981 to 1985 was the period during which the city "stripped away" the obstacles being encountered in production by gradually revamping the management mechanism, dismantling bureaucracy and state subsidies, stimulating production, improving distribution and circulation and stabilizing the standard of living. The party committee echelons that lead youth work began to make productivity, quality and efficiency, all closely tied to cadre training, the objectives of their activities. The 2nd City Youth Conference (April 1981) called for a shift in the focus of Youth Union activities to the economic front and efforts to stop the practices of trying to mobilize youths merely by means of empty slogans and general appeals and only emphasizing the contributions made by youths but not being concerned with their legitimate interests. To the credit of the city party organization in its leadership of youth work was the fact that it began to "multiply" the number of progressive models among youths. This effort began with the movement to emulate and learn from the skilled textile worker Tran Thi Be Bay, a young, highly productive worker who performs work of high quality. Thousands of young textile workers responded to this movement and dozens of young women workers caught up to Be Bay and even surpassed her in a number of areas.

Since July 1985, the city has begun to implement the resolution of the 8th Party Plenum on prices, wages and money. The Youth Union has actively participated in expanding socialist commerce and managing the market and prices, beginning with moving forward to achieve a monopoly in the grain business. Within the commercial grain corporations of the city and the precinct and districts, the Youth Union has quickly begun participating in the effort to expand the processing network, which includes the processing of some products of value as exports. At many basic units, especially in the subwards, Youth Union chapters have been playing a highly visible shock role, waging a determined struggle to maintain prices and actively participating in the retail sales network, in both state-operated commerce and at marketing cooperatives. Many basic party organizations have been leading the Youth Union chapters within the public security sector, the commerce sector and the branch of the Tax Department. Young worker inspection units have promptly brought to light thousands of cases involving speculation, black marketing, the dispersal of goods and money, the spreading of malicious rumors and efforts to monopolize the market.

Following each phase of work, the city party committee has led the effort to promptly gain experience from the work of the Youth Union and introduced a number of measures for continuing to build upon the shock role of youths in the struggle to transform private industry and commerce, combat speculation, black marketing and the manufacture of fake goods and strengthen market inspections and market management. Nearly 60 outdoor markets within the city have established Youth Union chapters and many markets have Youth Union cadre affairs sections under the direct leadership of the party chapter to gain the participation of youths in the struggle against the practices of raising prices and not selling goods at posted prices. "Youth clubs" and many Youth Union chapters have organized activities under the theme "learning and creatively implementing the new management mechanism" with a view toward encouraging Youth Union members and youths to revise their economic thinking and mount a determined struggle against the negative phenomena among some commerce personnel.

Following the completion of the money exchange program, the city party committee began leading the effort to rather closely manage prices and tried to maintain a state of normalcy in each activity of the city and the daily lives of the people. However, in mid-October, taking advantage of some weaknesses on our part in the management of cash and the promulgation of the new price scale, reactionaries and dishonest merchants spread the rumor that money should be destroyed and began doing everything they could to buy up goods, thus creating disorder on the market. As soon as this "cash fever" broke out, the city party committee mobilized the Youth Union to closely coordinate with the Women's Union, Trade Union and other mass organizations and immediately launch a mass agitation campaign to assist the functional sectors in stopping negative phenomena and promptly exposing saboteurs, speculators and black marketeers. More than 80,000 Youth Union members and youths joined the shock units that searched the city for "black addresses," thus helping to stop and initiate legal proceedings in nearly 1,000 cases of persons who were earning their livings illegally.

Along with providing leadership in the area of controlling the flow of goods and money, the city party committee has called for the acceleration of production, for closely linking production to circulation so that the volume of products and goods steadily increases and the conditions are created for managing the market well. The well coordinated leadership provided by the city party committee and the party committees of the precincts and districts has created conditions that have encouraged the Youth Union organizations at enterprises, factories and small industry and handicraft units in the countryside and at agencies to work hard, revamp the management mechanism, improve economic-technical quotas, economize on raw materials, supplies and energy, achieve higher labor productivity and product quality, reduce production costs, and restructure their organization so that increasingly high efficiency is achieved in production and business, thereby raising the income of laborers and increasing the formation of capital for the state.

Having been forged in the realities of revolutionary struggle, the knowledge that youths have concerning the party, concerning socialism has been markedly improved. The revolutionary action movements of youths have rallied the forces of youths while improving the quality of Youth Union members, training cadres and building a solid and strong Youth Union. As of November 1985, Ho Chi Minh City had more than 250,000 Youth Union members active in nearly 8,400 basic Youth Union chapters. This membership represents nearly 20 percent of the total number of youths in the city and is 5 times higher than in 1975. In 1984, more than 4,000 Youth Union members were accepted into the party. They accounted for nearly 70 percent of the new members accepted into the party during the year. In the first 8 months of 1985, the Youth Union introduced to the party tens of thousands of outstanding Youth Union members, more than 2,000 of whom were accepted into the party.

Launching Revolutionary Action Movements of Youths

The party's leadership of youth work primarily has the purposes of upholding the right of collective ownership of youths through the activities of the Youth Union and expressing this right in concrete terms through revolutionary action movements of youths. The experience of Ho Chi Minh City shows that in order to launch revolutionary action movements of youths, the Youth Union must not only closely adhere to the political task of the party organization, but must also improve the forms and methods it employs in the mobilization of youths to be consistent with their requirements and aspirations. The activities of the Youth Union must be dynamic and effective. The Youth Union must promptly bring to light new problems that arise in life and eliminate everything that is bureaucratic, formal, simplistic and rigid in its organization and activities. It must employ many different methods of bringing youths together, such as building youth projects, holding technical exercises, working to increase the number of progressive models, building management models, taking measures to utilize the idle time of youths, etc.

Over a period of many years and under the close leadership of the city party committee, the Youth Union has organized many revolutionary action movements of youths, especially at enterprises, factories and worksites and within the small industry and handicraft sector. On the basis of the economic management model and the examples set by the young management cadres at the Thanh Cong Textile Mill, many organizations of the Youth Union at other enterprises in the city have held symposiums on product contracts and organized "management days," "management weeks" and "management months" of youths. The city Youth

Union has also established the "Scientific Council of Youths" to help stimulate the application of scientific-technical advances in production and encourage Youth Union members and youths to expand the technical network at basic units. The Youth Union "multiplied" the model unit that is the "Youth shop" at the Cuu Long Laundry Powder Enterprise into hundreds of other shops called youth shops that reflect the new quality of Youth Union work closely tied to economic efficiency and the training of young cadres. Through these movements, nearly 5,000 young management cadres between the ages of 24 and 33, from production section chiefs to enterprise supervisors and directors and deputy directors of corporations, have been trained, have grown and matured in practice. During the first 9 months of 1985, some 60,000 young workers signed emulation pledges in the "youths return earlier than planned" movement and nearly 100 units participated in the "skill training and testing" movement. These two movements have had the effect of improving the teaching of revolutionary ideals in a manner closely linked to molding the new man and woman.

Within the distribution-circulation sector, movements to build "youth stores" and "youth counters" and mold "young and skilled state-store personnel" have emerged at many places within the city.

In order for youth movements to take the correct direction and yield both economic and political returns, it is important that emulation targets be properly defined. With the experience gained in pilot projects in revamping the management mechanism at a number of units, the standing committee of the city party committee has asserted: the leadership of youth work by party committees as well as the quality of Youth Union organizations must be clearly expressed in the shock role played by youths in the struggle to dismantle bureaucracy and state subsidies, combat conservatism and inertia and build and perfect the new management mechanism and the struggle to eradicate liberalism, localism and departmentalism at all basic units.

The party organization attaches importance to teaching revolutionary ideals in conjunction with looking after the legitimate interests of youths. The interests of youths are many. They include the following needs: to have a job, to be able to study cultural and technical subjects, to participate in literary and art activities, to forge good health, to achieve family happiness and to endeavor to become Youth Union members and party members. In practice, if importance is not attached to these legitimate interests of youths, efforts to teach the ideals, raison d'etre and way of life of the revolution are not very effective and it thus becomes difficult to launch revolutionary action movements of youths. The Ho Chi Minh City Party Committee maintains that, under peace time conditions, every labor organization must seek to achieve economic efficiency in conjunction with guaranteeing the material and cultural interests of young laborers as well as all other laborers.

In 1984, together with organizing assault youth units, a form of organization that "closely combines ideological motivation with economic interests," the city also provided jobs for 80,000 youths. The Youth Union and the administration have tried to provide the members of assault units with each of their meals and training in cultural subjects, science and technology. To date, a system of level II and level III on-the-job supplementary education schools with five departments and 250 instructors has been established within the assault youth forces. The supplementary education movement among assault youths is quite spirited and has begun to produce good results. Through this training, some 2,000 unit members have learned to read and write and are now furthering their education. More than 1,000 members have completed their level III education and nearly 400 members have been accepted into colleges.

At the assault youth units in the Central Highlands and eastern Nam Bo, along with the movements to study the martial arts, study foreign languages and read books, bonfire rallies, song groups, groups that write and perform their own theatrical art, physical culture and sport activities, press activities and so forth have helped to create a happy and wholesome cultural life for youths.

Building a happy personal life for the members of the assault youth units is also a special concern of the city party organization. Every possible favorable condition has been created for many young men and women to achieve family happiness. Many married couples have expressed their gratitude for the concern and constructive efforts of their mass organization by working hard with high productivity and quality.

Clearly, strengthening the leadership provided by the party and revamping the mode of operation of the Youth Union to include many stimulating and interesting forms of activities that are consistent with the requirements and psychology of youths are important factors in insuring the victory of the youth movement.

Teaching Our Raison d'Etre and Way of Life to Youths

The experience of the Ho Chi Minh City party organization in leading youth work once again confirms that in order to develop the revolutionary shock role of youths, it is absolutely necessary that attention be given to educating and molding youths, to training youths to be new, socialist men and women, new persons whose ideals are the ideals of communism and whose way of life is beautiful. The city party committee maintains that the process of forming a raison d'etre is the process of the dialectical impact between social existence and social consciousness, between socio-economic circumstances and cultural-spiritual life, between the collective and the individual, etc. One lesson deserving of attention is that the teaching of revolutionary ideals and tradition must be closely tied to labor and combat, that our raison d'etre and way of life must be forged in practice. All revolutionary action movements of youths at factories, enterprises and worksites and in subwards, villages, agencies, schools and units of the armed forces are closely tied to the work of building the new, socialist way of life and this has had the reciprocal effect of molding the attitude of performing high quality work and achieving high efficiency. The activities of the assault youth forces are a typical example. During the past 10 years, 50,000 of the city's youths have volunteered to go clear land and generate wealth for the fatherland. At the very outset, the party organization established cultivating the socialist raison d'etre and way of life as one of the basic themes in the task of molding the new laborer within the assault youth organization. To achieve this end, it is the policy of the city party committee that we must place true confidence in youths, uphold the right of collective ownership and make it possible for every youth to develop close ties to the organization, forge qualities in practice and gradually cultivate a wholesome way of thinking and living. Assault youth forces come from many different sources and the circumstances surrounding their lives are very diverse. Many of them are prone to develop complexes. Here, the policy of the party committee has been that we should not dwell upon the past, should not mention the past of some persons who were corrupted by the enemy in days gone by when solving problems of the present. This has had the effect of inspiring everyone to join efforts in caring for the life of the collective. The Youth Union has very much confidence in the ability of youths to make progress and respects each good gesture, even though only initial or small, by each unit member. The party committee requires that every party member and Youth Union member adopt as their everyday principle, as the way that they influence others displaying responsibility and love and achieve a high degree of unanimity amongst themselves.

Anyone who visits the new economic zones in the outskirts of the city, in the Central Highlands or eastern Nam Bo sees that the labor being performed by youths in these zones is not only creating wealth to support the life of man, but also, and more importantly, that these youths are gradually developing the new, socialist raison d'etre and way of life through the labor they are performing. The strength of the assault youth movement is manifested not only in the training of a corps of young, competent cadres who possess good qualities, but also in the "saving, through education, of many lives that seemed to be lost under the old regime." Nearly 7,000 backward youths have become assault youth unit members and very many of these persons are management or technical cadres at state farms and enterprises today.

One experience deserving of attention is that efforts to cultivate the raison d'etre and way of life of youths must be closely linked to teaching youths revolutionary vigilance and heightening their will to fight in the struggle between socialism and capitalism, between ourselves and the enemy. Because, as Nguyen Van Linh, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Ho Chi Minh City Party Committee, pointed out: "The youths of the city continue to constantly be a force that the enemy seeks to control by every means possible because they know that by attacking youths they are attacking the strength, the future of the nation... This silent war is taking place every hour of every day on all streets and alleys, in all aspects of everyday life and sometimes even spreads into the socialist school, into agencies, the families of cadres..."

The Ho Chi Minh City party organization also attaches importance to the law and the environment in the process of molding the raison d'etre and way of life of youths. This relationship is the cause and effect and relationship that exists between the individual and society. The city party committee has pointed out: "Freedom of the individual must be respected. However, when an individual violates the freedom of another person, harms public interests, disrupts order, security...intervention under the law becomes necessary. Therefore, one theme in molding the raison d'etre and way of life is that youths live their lives in accordance with the law..."

As regards environment, the city party committee has given its attention to the role and impact of the "micro environment," that is, the production section, work section, combat team, study section, club group and family. Because, the individual youth spends most of his or her time in this "micro environment." The city party committee has required that the Youth Union adopt methods and measures to develop the positive role played by environment. The city's youth cultural center is a model in this area. To date, more than 10 million youths representing each segment of society and representing all different segments of society and levels have visited the center to participate in activities, study and enjoy themselves. Through the wholesome activities conducted at the cultural center, the Youth Union has been guiding youths in adopting a beautiful raison d'etre and way of life.

The Youth movement in Ho Chi Minh City, despite recording striking achievements, has yet to attract all strata of youths. There are still backward and delinquent youths who have not taken part in any of the changes that have occurred in the city during the past 10 years. Deserving of attention is the fact that more than a few youths have not correctly adopted revolutionary ideals and still have only a vague idea of what is involved in the struggle between the two paths, between ourselves and the enemy. A pragmatic, "let yourself go" and decadent way of life, laziness and an unwillingness to learn, a lack of discipline and superstitious beliefs are still seen to one degree or another among some youths. The various levels and sectors still show signs of having a narrowminded, prejudiced attitude and have not concerned themselves with the legitimate interests of youths. In particular, the erosion of the qualities and ethics of some cadres and party members has also had an adverse effect upon the thinking, way of life and actions of youths.

In the face of the new requirements of the revolution and with a deep understanding of the basic views of the party on youth work as set forth in Political Bureau Resolution Number 26, the Ho Chi Minh City party organization is continuing to display a high spirit of responsibility and is determined to do an even better job of leading the Youth Union and youth work. The city party committee has emphasized: "Turning youths who are backward or average into progressive youths not only reflects the love and sense of responsibility of the party organization, the administration and all levels, including the family and school, but also represents a victory over the cunning enemy of the nation in the struggle for hearts and minds."

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REDUCING THE AVERAGE AGE OF DIEN NAM VILLAGE'S CORPS OF CADRES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 37-40

[Article by Le Van Phong]

[Text] Dien Nam Village lies in the coastal sandy area of Dien Ban District in Quang Nam-Da Nang Province.

In the war of resistance against the United States, Dien Nam had a rather strong people's war movement and was a village whose inhabitants were ruthlessly terrorized and massacred by enemy forces. Within the village, 2,208 persons were killed and 877 were wounded. Prior to liberation day, only 904 persons remained in the village, producing what they needed to live and fighting the enemy. Following liberation day, 12,445 inhabitants of the village returns from resettlement zones of the Americans and puppets and, along with those who had remained in the village, disarmed bombs and mines and began rebuilding their lives.

Today, following more than 10 years of restoration, transformation and construction, the party organization and people of Dien Nam Village have recorded achievements deserving of pride. Dien Nam has completed the restoration of fields to production and the clearing of land, thereby increasing the amount of area under cultivation to 1,000 hectares. It has established four agricultural cooperatives and brought 100 percent of its farmers into these cooperatives. It has established two cooperatives that mill grain and process livestock feed under contract and one building materials cooperative with 13 brick kilns and 2 tile kilns. It has established one granulated sugar production unit, one marketing cooperative and one credit cooperative. It has also established three basic general schools with 71 classrooms with tile roofs, one public health station with 24 beds, four child care centers, three kindergartens and four wired radio stations. Housing for its citizens has been constructed in accordance with village planning. Some 80 percent of the village's homes have tile roofs. Dien Nam has also constructed 10 kilometers of roads within the village by bringing in clay from far away and spreading it to make a hard surface on top of its sand to accommodate vehicular traffic. It has continuously met and exceeded military induction targets and implemented the army's rear area policies and the policies concerning war veterans and the families of war dead well.

There are many reasons for the above achievements. One important reason is that the Dien Nam party organization has built a corps of young cadres who are fully capable of undertaking the tasks set by the party organization. These young cadres are quite dynamic and creative and have tapped the combined strength of the village in order to bring about the steady advance of the Dien Nam movement.

Thus, by which methods has Dien Nam reduced the average age of its corps of cadres?

To begin with, it was necessary to reduce the average age of the corps of party members. The Dien Nam party organization considered reducing the average age of the corps of party members to be the prerequisite to reducing the average age of the village's corps of cadres. On the other hand, further increasing the number of party members, particularly young party members, was a practical requirement in improving the ability of the party organization to lead and increasing its fighting strength. After Quang Nam-Da Nang was liberated, the village had only 58 party members, the majority of whom were old party members whose standards and level of education were low. In the face of this situation, the Dien Nam party organization decided that it was first necessary to attach special importance to developing the party and, in this way, increase the fighting strength of the party organization and expand its corps of cadres. As it set about implementing this policy immediately after liberation day, the Dien Nam party organization encountered more than a few difficulties. As we know, in the 20 years that they ruled the South, the U.S. imperialists and the lackey puppet administration employed every insidious tactic they could in a vain attempt to corrupt our people and make them immoral, especially the young generation. They did everything they could to "smear" sons and daughters of families who were in some way related to the revolution, thus creating mutual hatred and suspicion. Before they were defeated, they inserted more than a few reactionaries in order to continue to oppose and attack our country's revolution. In view of this situation, the development of the party, instead of being carried out normally, required truly painstaking efforts. The Dien Nam party organization adopted an appropriate plan and guidelines. The party organization spent the first years focusing its efforts on investigating, classifying and getting to know the people of the village and assigning them jobs in order to challenge them. The party chapters put a party member in charge of each citizen of the village. They then established three different categories of persons on whom efforts to train them for acceptance into the party had to be focused: the sons and daughters of the families of disabled veterans and war dead and families who had served the revolution; discharged troops; and the sons and daughters of those families who remained in the village during the fight against the United States. The party chapters analyzed the strengths and weaknesses of the persons in each category and set specific guidelines for assisting and training them. Those youths who were sons and daughters of families of disabled veterans and war dead and families who had served the revolution were very eager to work but their cultural standards were low. The party chapters encouraged and arranged for them to attend formal supplementary education classes. Those youths who were discharged troops had been tempered in every way necessary but did not want to participate in party work because most of their families were encountering economic difficulties. The approach taken by the party chapters in the case of these youths was to personally encourage them, to teach them tradition and help them overcome their difficulties so that they could participate. The sons and daughters of families who had remained in their village had been sent to the cities by their families to further their education. As a result, the majority of them had a level II or level III education but knew little about the revolution. The party chapters provided these youths with training to teach them the class stand, teach them about the party, about the socialist revolution... As a result of being educated and trained and being assigned suitable jobs, the village's force of youths has quickly matured. Spirited emulation movements aimed at restoring and stepping up production, such as the movements to restore fields to use, build water conservancy projects, practice intensive cultivation and raise crop yields, build cooperatives, wipe out illiteracy, construct roads, build schools and so forth, have truly become festivals of the youths of Dien Nam Village. Many outstanding youths have emerged, many young cadres have matured. From within these movements, many outstanding youths have been accepted into the party.

The Dien Nam party organization has also given its attention to properly strengthening the organization of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and developing the shock role of youths in each area of the village's work. The Youth Union organization has attracted large numbers of outstanding youths in the village. In 1976, the village had 76 Youth Union members. In 1979, it had 213 members. In 1983, it had more than 300 Youth Union members. The village's Youth Union chapters conduct spirited activities based on many pertinent themes that have truly become a school to train and educate youths. Through the activities of the Youth Union chapters, the party chapters have provided youths with knowledge about the party and helped them to meet the standards of the party member. The party chapters periodically evaluate and select the most outstanding Youth Union members for introduction to the party chapters to be trained for acceptance into the party.

Through such positive, effective measures, the Dien Nam party organization has been able to accept many new, young party members. During the past 2 years, primarily since 1980, the Dien Nam party organization has accepted 100 new members. The majority of these new members have been youths who are educated and quickly accept the new. The average age of the party organization's corps of party members has thus been reduced (to 39 years of age). It is these young, new party members who augment the cadres of the village, thus reducing their average age as well.

To quickly reduce the average age of its corps of cadres, the Dien Nam party organization has boldly trained cadres in accordance with a carefully calculated master plan. When it shifted from leading the people of the village in the guerrilla war to building socialism, the Dien Nam party organization experienced many difficulties because the village lacked key cadres and those that it had were poorly educated and weak in the area of economic management as well as in their special field or profession. In 1976, the village party committee consisted of 15 persons. Not including the six cadres sent by the district to strengthen the party committee, the average age of the village's party committee members was 42.2 years and they had no more than 1 to 3 grades of education (one person was illiterate). This situation demanded that the Dien Nam party organization attach full importance to training village cadres and raising their standards in every field. It formulated a village cadre plan with the aims of training cadres to meet immediate needs while preparing cadres for future years. In this work, the Dien Nam party organization has given its attention to providing effective on-the-job training and has persisted in sending persons to schools for long-term training. The first thing that the party organization did was to find ways to raise the cultural standards of the village's cadres, party members and people. It considers raising the cultural standards of cadres and party members to be the key in resolving problems in cadre work as well as the key in improving the leadership skills of the party organization. The village has organized one on-the-job supplementary education school. The party organization has decided that each cadre and party member must attend this school and has requested that all sectors and mass organizations schedule their work in a way that enables party members to attend school. Supplementary education has attracted not only cadres, party members and youths, but also each citizen of the village. One hundred core cadres and party members have attended supplementary education classes. The cultural standards of the members of the party organization have undergone a major change. Some 52 percent of its members have completed their level I education, 32 percent have completed their level II education, 14 percent have completed their level III education and 5 have completed college.

Together with opening classes, the Dien Nam party organization has displayed a very high level of determination with regard to sending cadres and party members to study political theory, economic management and a specialized field or profession at the formal schools of the district, province and central level. Sending cadres for long-term training at a time when the village is experiencing a very serious shortage of cadres represents a major effort on the part of the Dien Nam party organization because it requires that the cadres remaining in the village undertake many jobs at the same time. However, there is consensus with the party organization concerning the need to endure the immediate difficulties caused by sending persons to schools for long-term training in order to prepare cadres for the long-range future. As a result, many cadres of the village have attended classes in political theory as well as their special field or profession. The cultural standards of the corps of cadres of the village and cooperatives have been markedly raised. Today, 59 of these cadres are in the 9th or 10th grade, 21 have completed the middle level program and 42 have completed the elementary program. In 1982, 4 members of the village party committee had a level III education, 10 persons had a 6th to 9th grade education and only 1 person had a 5th grade education. Dien Nam's target is to popularize level II education among all cadres of the village within the next few years. The rise in their cultural standards and their command of political theory has made the cadres of Dien Nam strong and brought about the continuous advance of the village's movement.

Together with the efforts mentioned above, the Dien Nam party organization has also boldly assigned jobs to youths and established a good relationship between elderly and young cadres. This is also one of the positive measures taken by Dien Nam to quickly reduce the average age of its cadres. The policy of the Dien Nam party organization has been to only put a number of elderly party members in charge of party work and some jobs that entail extensive contact with the people while boldly putting young party members and outstanding Youth Union members in charge of production and business units as production unit chiefs or assistant chiefs and members of cooperative management boards, in charge of cultural work, scientific-technical work and so forth. After spending a period of time on these jobs, many of these persons have been selected for promotion to positions on the village level or sent to schools for long-term training. The party organization has also given its attention to assigning jobs to young cadres in a way that gives each of them experience in work that entails increasingly high requirements, from the requirements of being in charge of a specific portion of a job to the requirements of being in charge of an important job. As a result of being highly determined to boldly assign jobs to youths, the Dien Nam party organization has trained a rather young corps of cadres. The members of cooperative management boards are between the ages of 27 and 32. The average age of the members of the village people's committee is 30 and the average age of the members of the village party committee is 34.5.

While boldly assigning jobs to youths, the party organization has given its attention to establishing a close relationship between elderly and young cadres. It has given elderly cadres the responsibility of training young cadres and young cadres the responsibility of learning the experience that elderly cadres have gained in their work. One-third of the members of the Dien Nam party organization are retired cadres. This number increases each year. All these party members are veterans of the two wars of resistance against France and the United States and participated in many different jobs. Each of them has job experience that the young cadres of the village lack. Recognizing this fact early on, the Dien Nam party organization mobilized these party members to actively contribute to building the village's revolutionary movement. The party committee has familiarized itself with the specialized work performed by each of these persons and skillfully mobilized them to work alongside and assist the cadres who currently hold positions within the village. Whenever a sector holds a conference to conduct a preliminary or final review of its work, the party committee invites persons related to the work of the sector to attend so that an exchange of experiences can be held. There is a close relationship and mutual support between elderly and young cadres in all the village's work. These retired party members have brought to the training of the village's young cadres the full measure of their zeal and experience. This wholehearted assistance has helped the village's young cadres quickly familiarize themselves with their work and has caused them to encounter fewer problems.

The Dien Nam party organization has also concerned itself with building the corps of successor cadres. It has implemented the assignment of successor cadres to various job positions. These cadres work with and are assisted by the persons who currently hold these positions. Successor cadres and current cadres discuss the work they are performing. Periodically, successor cadres are assigned specific jobs. This training method has helped young cadres to grow and mature quickly and has enabled the party organization to always be able to take the initiative in the assignment of cadres.

By means of the positive, effective measures described above, the Dien Nam party organization has reduced the average age of the village's cadres. Dien

Nam now has a corps of rather young cadres whose standards and skills have been markedly improved. In 1982, the district withdrew the cadres it had assigned to Dien Nam. Only 1 retired cadre remains on the party committee. This corps of young cadres has made important contributions to the achievements recorded by Dien Nam, achievements deserving of pride. Once an arid, poor village, Dien Nam now not only supports itself at a rather high standard of living, but also fulfills its grain obligations to the state. The people of Dien Nam are very enthusiastic and confident because their material and cultural lives have been steadily improved. With the achievements it has recorded and the experiences it has gained, with a steadily improving corps of cadres, Dien Nam will surely record even larger achievements in the years ahead.

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THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE INDOCHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 41-42

[Unattributed article]

[Text] Editorial Note

On 3 February 1930, under instructions from the Communist International, Nguyen Ai Quoc (that is, our Uncle Ho) convened the Merger Conference to bring together the various communist groups in Indochina and establish the Communist Party of Vietnam, which later changed its name to the Indochinese Communist Party. As soon as it was born, the party launched a widespread movement of workers and peasants in Indochina, the pinnacle of which was the Nghe-Tinh Soviets in 1930 and 1931. This movement achieved acclaim and exerted enormous influence within the international communist movement. The 11th Plenary Conference of the Executive Committee of the Communist International held between 25 March and 13 April 1931 observed: "In Indochina, the peasant movement has developed strongly and widely and has recorded the very large achievement of establishing soviet administrations..."(1) At that conference, the Communist International recognized the Indochinese Communist Party as an alternate member of the Communist International, one separate from the Communist Party of France.

In August 1935, the Communist International held its 7th Congress in Moscow. Our party's delegation participating in the congress consisted of Le Hong Phong, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai and Hoang Van Non. Nguyen Ai Quoc (who was then using the alias Lin) participated as an invited guest of the congress. The congress recognized the Indochinese Communist Party as an official member of the Communist International and elected Le Hong Phong an official member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Below is the decision of the 7th Congress of the Communist International recognizing the Indochinese Communist Party and a number of other communist parties as official members of the Communist International.

[Photograph of the following decision in Russian appears here in text]

DECISION

Concerning the Recognition of New Members of the Communist International

(Adopted at the 7th Congress of the Communist International on 20 August 1935)

a) Hereby recognized as members of the Communist International are the communist parties in Indochina, the Philippines, Peru, Colombia, Costa Rica, Puerto Rico and Venezuela.

b) Hereby recognized as a member of the Communist International with voting power is the People's Revolutionary Party in Tuva.

FOOTNOTES

1. See: "The Communist Parties and the Crisis of Imperialism," Pravda Publishing House, Moscow, 1932, p 43.

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HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS: THE STATEMENT OF THE DELEGATES WHO LEFT THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 1ST NATIONAL CONGRESS OF DELEGATES OF THE ASSOCIATION OF VIETNAMESE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 43-44

[Text] Editorial Note: in May 1929, the 1st Congress of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth was held overseas. At that congress, the delegates from Tonkin proposed the establishment of a communist party. This proposal was not endorsed by the congress. The Tonkin delegates immediately left the congress and returned home. Upon their arrival in Tonkin, they issued the following statement appealing for "the immediate establishment of a communist party." This statement was printed in leaflet form and distributed in many localities of the country.

On the occasion of the 56th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam, we are publishing this statement for use as a reference material by our readers.

Dear comrades,

Dear fellow countrymen,

We, who were entrusted by our comrades with the responsibility of representing them as delegates at the 1st National Congress of Delegates of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth that was convened on 1 May 1929, always sought to express, with the full measure of our spirit and minds, opinions consistent with Annam's circumstances and the aspirations of our cadres--our objectives being for the revolution to quickly achieve success and workers to quickly seize political power in order to build a society of equality, liberty and fraternity.

Because such was our responsibility,
Because such were our objectives,

And recognizing that:

1. In Annam, capitalism has flourished and capital is beginning to become concentrated in the hands of only a few persons;

2. The proletariat in Annam is becoming increasing large and aware and poor peasants are also becoming increasingly numerous;

3. Annan currently has no party that represents the proletariat;

4. The Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth is a petty bourgeois, petty intellectual mass organization, a nationalist mass organization that endorses socialism. The association's line--"carrying out a national revolution first, then the world revolution"--is opportunistic and not genuinely revolutionary (since the association's establishment in 1924, its activities have been far removed from workers and peasants. The Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth has not established liaison with the 3rd International ((the Communist International)), the revolutionary organization for the entire world, but instead sent delegates to attend the 3rd National Congress of Delegates of the Chinese Nationalist Party, an anti-revolutionary, anti-worker and peasant party).

We therefore had no alternative but to propose the establishment of a party that represents the proletariat, the only party that can solve the problems related to the proletariat, a party to lead the entire cause of revolution in Annam, that is, a COMMUNIST PARTY.

The issue of organizing a communist party was thus raised for discussion at the congress. After nearly 1 day of debate (5 May 1929), reasoning that:

This congress is a youth congress (the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth),

These delegates are delegates of the members of the youth association,

The majority of the delegates attending the congress decided:

1. The issue of organizing a communist party is not an issue related to Youth and thus need not be discussed by the congress;

2. The delegates will only discuss issues related to Youth; the issue of a communist party may not be raised.

True, this congress was a congress of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth. However, persons who are genuine revolutionaries must discuss every issue related to workers and peasants, to the proletariat. Yet, the congress of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth did not permit discussion of the issue of organizing a communist party, which is a very vital issue to the proletariat and poor peasants of Annam. A congress that does not permit discussion of this issue is not a congress that represents the proletariat.

The nature of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth had thus been made very clear.

Because we never forgot our obligation to the proletariat of Annam, to all hard working citizens of Annam, because we could not forget the responsibility entrusted to us by our comrades, we could not recognize this opportunistic national congress of delegates, this bogus revolutionary and anti-worker-peasant national congress of delegates and declared that we were leaving the congress and returning home.

What this opportunistic, bogus revolutionary and anti-worker and peasant congress discussed subsequent to our departure, we do not know.

The result of attending this national congress of delegates is that we know with full certainty that the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth is not a genuine party that serves the interests of the proletariat.

Thus, we sincerely and urgently appeal
to the workers of Annam,
to the poor peasants of Annam,
to the comrades of the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth,
to the members of the political parties in Annam,
to all those whose hearts lie with the revolution,
that:

1. We must make every effort to topple the gang of opportunists and bogus revolutionaries who are deceiving workers and peasants.

2. We must immediately organize a COMMUNIST PARTY before we can lead the proletariat in revolution.

We must topple French imperialism, bring down capitalism, eradicate the paralyzed village bullies, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and achieve communism.

So declare the delegates who left the congress and returned home.

1 June 1929

Note: once you have read this, please pass it on to someone else.

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DISPLAYING HIGH REVOLUTIONARY HEROISM IN LABOR AND COMBAT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 45-47

[Unattributed article]

[Text] The 5th National Congress of Heroes and Emulation Warriors was the first such congress to be held since the country was reunified. The congress met against the background of the people of our country having recorded large achievements in building and defending the socialist fatherland while still facing difficulties in many areas.

Due to the length of time since the previous congress and the breadth of the contributions and achievements that have been made and recorded, this national congress of heroes and emulation warriors represented a larger number of heroic units, heroic individuals and emulation warriors than any preceding congress and was attended by many collectives and individuals from all 40 provinces and municipalities representing practically all important sectors and fields and symbolizing the achievements recorded by the people of our entire country in the performance of the two strategic tasks. The corps of heroes and emulation warriors present at this congress consisted of workers, farmers and intellectuals, men and women, all nationalities and religions, veteran revolutionaries and youths new to the revolution; consisted of persons representing three to four successive generations that have fought and died for the revolutionary cause of the party, of the people.

Many heroic units, heroic individuals and emulation warriors emerged from the widespread revolutionary movements of the masses, from the patriotic emulation movements being carried out in the various fields to meet the requirements of the revolution. They are deeply imbued with the teaching of Uncle Ho: we must emulate one another in every job we perform. Emulation is patriotic, emulation is unity, emulation is the remolding of man.

Led and educated by the party, carrying on and building upon the fine traditions of the nation and displaying revolutionary qualities in a way highly visible, our heroes and emulation warriors of today very profoundly embody the precious materials possessed by our people in the past and the present--materials that are the origin of of each victory and achievement. These special materials are condensed in boundless loyalty to the party, the revolution and the fatherland.

Upon the foundation constructed of these special materials and against the background of the many arduous and complex challenges of the past 2 decades, all heroes and emulation warriors, although they have conducted their activities amidst different circumstances and in different fields and although each is different in appearance and personality, clearly reflect in their thinking and actions the diverse and rich characteristics of Vietnamese revolutionary heroism.

The salient characteristic we see is that all have always displayed a high spirit of initiative and creativity in labor and management, displayed bravery and resourcefulness in combat and overcome each difficulty and adversity. In the face of the towering difficulties caused by enemy attacks and natural disasters, in the face of the serious consequences of the war, especially the many weaknesses of the economy, heroes and emulation warriors have very clearly displayed initiative and creativity in their field and jobs. Instead of allowing themselves to be bound by old concepts and ideas, by old ways of thinking, they have constantly equipped themselves with new knowledge, with new ways of thinking and have recognized which directions are the correct directions to take to overcome difficulties and achieve high efficiency in their work. Never fearing difficulties, always keeping abreast of the realities of life and maintaining close ties with the masses, our heroes and emulation warriors have developed and taken many practical measures to overcome difficulties and complete tasks well. Once they determined the correct direction to take, they dared to be decisive and persisted in their efforts until success was achieved.

In combat, clearly aware of the nature, schemes and tactics of the enemy and possessing both patriotism and a deep hatred of the enemy, they have displayed bravery, resourcefulness and flexibility, quickly developed effective, creative ways of fighting and defeated the acts of encroachment and occupation as well as the acts of sabotage of the enemy.

Our life during the past 20 years has been marked by many innovations and changes. These innovations and changes came about partly as a result of important contributions made by heroic units, heroic individuals and emulation warriors.

Secondly, they have displayed a very high sense of responsibility and dedication to their work and contributed all that they could for the sake of the ideals and ambitions of the revolution.

A heroic character is displayed not only in major undertakings, in undertakings of monumental proportions, but also in very ordinary, silent efforts about which few persons know. It is displayed not only in emergency jobs that are completed in a brief span of time, but also in jobs that go on for years and months. Ho Giao has been very closely connected to his occupation, raising foreign breeds of dairy buffalo and cattle, for 31 years. A common laborer who possesses a high sense of responsibility, passionately loves his occupation, is devoted to his work, patiently endures losely connected to his occupation, raising foreign breeds of dairy buffalo and cattle, for 31 years. A common laborer who possesses a high sense of responsibility, passionately loves his occupation, is devoted to his work, patiently endures hardships and has overcome many difficulties, he cares for calves as a mother cares for her children and has achieved many fine results. One comrade, who left his native village and moved far from his family because he was needed by the revolution, has spent several decades devoting his life to the ethnic minorities at a place in the mountainous jungles shrouded in clouds throughout the year, a place where the climate is harsh, where customs and habits are strange...

Dedication to their work, perseverance in the face of problems, difficulties and adversities and the spirit of sacrifice have helped heroes and emulation warriors contribute all that they have to the cause of revolution.

Thirdly, they have eagerly studied, researched and applied scientific and technical advances and found the most direct way to produce large returns for the revolution.

In view of our country's current circumstances, accelerating the scientific-technical revolution, the key revolution among the three revolutions set forth by our party, is a matter of extreme importance. The heroes and emulation warriors have displayed high determination to study and research science and technology and find ways to quickly apply the results they achieve in production and work. Here, they have displayed their heroic character by remaining eager to learn despite lacking many of the conditions and means they need, by working while learning, by engrossing themselves in research, by creating, on their own, the necessary work conditions, by combining scientific knowledge with their own experience and the experience of their collective, by creating things new and applying these things in their production and work with self-confidence and a spirit of self-reliance. Instead of being disappointed by setbacks, they have moved forward with determination to achieve increasingly high productivity, quality and efficiency. In this spirit, in their activities in many fields of science and technology, in industry and agriculture, in communications, transportation, public health, national defense and so forth, our heroic collectives, heroic individuals and emulation warriors have tirelessly worked to develop within themselves increasing skills so that they can contribute as much as possible to the revolution, to the people.

Fourthly, they have displayed diligence, honesty, modesty and simplicity, established close ties to the masses and truly placed their confidence in and relied upon the masses. Imbued with the teaching of Uncle Ho that heroes are produced by a heroic people, a heroic nation and upholding the fine traditions of the people, our heroes and emulation warriors, in their work as well as their life, when poor as well as when successful, have constantly forged themselves in order to always retain these precious qualities. In view of the fact that our country is still poor and must still surmount many difficulties, displaying frugality, honesty, simplicity and modesty, becoming one with the masses and having confidence in and relying upon the masses are exceedingly important factors in our heroes and emulation warriors becoming the centers uniting and galvanizing the masses in revolutionary action. Many heroic units, heroic individuals and emulation warriors began to become what they are today by studying examples of good persons and good work and studying progressive places. They have become increasingly modest as their achievements have mounted and, not satisfied with their achievements, have studied even more in order to make continuous progress.

Now, more than ever before, displaying and spreading revolutionary heroism in labor and combat are a very important requirement in intensifying the socialist patriotic emulation movement in every field of activity with the aims of overcoming each difficulty and hardship and successfully carrying out each task set by the party.

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SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE ON THE INITIAL STAGE OF THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION IN VIETNAM AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATEGY DURING THIS STAGE (*)

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 48-74, 99

[Text] Hoang Huu Nhan:

Lenin's famous argument on the necessity of the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism that "...the general laws of development in the history of the entire world do not exclude but encompass a number of stages of development that reflect characteristics of this development, either from the standpoint of the forms this development takes or the order in which it occurs"(1) was applied by our party to divide the period of transition to socialism into individual stages. Our party has asserted: "The immediate stage is the stage of continuing to carry out socialist construction and socialist transformation; achieving a stronger political and moral consensus among the people; reducing and overcoming difficulties, stabilizing and improving the standard of living; stopping and eradicating negative phenomena; making important progress in every field; and creating a new balance for the economy while preparing for steadier and stronger strides forward in the next stage."(2) By the time that the period of transition comes to an end, we must meet the following targets:

--Socialist production relations must be universally established and occupy the position of absolute dominance within each field of social production;

--Socialist production relations must be fully developed, that is, the economic laws of socialism must be exerting their full impact;

--The construction of the material-technical bases of socialism must, from the standpoint of its fundamental features, be completed.

Our two basic tasks in the initial stage, stabilizing and improving the standard of living and accumulating initial capital, demand that we urgently resolve a number of problems: restoring and stabilizing the economy; gradually correcting the major imbalances within the economy; building a minimum force of modern technical equipment and machinery and training a corps of technical cadres and workers with the aim of creating a driving force that will carry social production beyond the framework of simple reproduction; and establishing a rational and efficient economic structure.

The enormous efforts that we have made in the recent past have brought about many changes in the state of our country's socio-economic system compared to what it was at the beginning. We have recorded many economic achievements under very difficult circumstances. However, we have also committed many shortcomings and mistakes in leading and managing the economy. Consequently, the results achieved are still low and not commensurate with the efforts we have made. All these efforts have failed to bring about significant changes in the economy so that we can emerge from the initial stage. We must take a hard look at the current socio-economic situation so that we can set targets that truly focus our efforts and adopt an economic development strategy that is well suited to the years ahead. In this work we must include defining a rational economic structure, our economic management strategy and the specifics involved in revamping the economic management mechanism. For the immediate future, agriculture will continue to be the front of foremost importance. At the same time, we must make every effort to develop the production of consumer and export goods. The development of heavy industry must primarily have the purpose of directly supporting the requirements mentioned above while preparing conditions for the next stage. A rational economic structure is one that always places agriculture, light industry and heavy industry within a unified economic structure and develops, against the background of an "open" economy, our particular strengths in the world economy. As regards the structure of investments in the years ahead, importance must be attached to making investments in utilizing existing production capacity in the fullest and most efficient manner possible. From the standpoint of revamping the economic management mechanism, it is first of all necessary to completely dismantle bureaucratic centralism, administrative management and state subsidies in all fields of production and business, shift quickly and entirely to economic accounting and socialist business practices centered around the plan and restore to economic units their inherent business responsibility and independence and financial autonomy under appropriately centralized state leadership and management. Only through a dynamic management mechanism that is consistent with economic laws and only by implementing the right of collective ownership of the laboring people is it possible to fully develop each capability and potential of the economy, quickly stabilize production and the standard of living and truly strengthen the state's leadership og the right of collective ownership of the laboring people is it possible to fully develop each capability and potential of the economy, quickly stabilize production and the standard of living and truly strengthen the state's leadership of the entire economy.

Tran Linh Son:

Following the great victory in the spring of 1975, reunified Vietnam embarked on the stage of the socialist revolution, a stage that has begun with the period of transition to socialism, the period of carrying out the historic tasks of the proletarian dictatorship nationwide. The resolution of the 5th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam pointed out: the current stage consists of the period encompassed by the 1981-1985 Five Year Plan and will last until 1990, until the conclusion of the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan, or a little while longer. Today, we know this as the initial stage of the period of transition in our country. The 5th Party Congress introduced the concept of the initial stage of the process of socialist industrialization and defined our general socio-economic targets for the 1980's as:

1. Accelerating production, focusing efforts on the development of agriculture, considering agriculture to be the front of foremost importance and stabilizing and improving the standard of living;

2. Continuing to selectively build the material-technical bases of socialism, accumulating capital from within the economy and actively preparing for the stronger development of heavy industry in the next stage;

3. Completing socialist transformation in the southern provinces and continuing the effort to perfect socialist production relations nationwide;

4. Meeting pressing national defense needs and maintaining political security and social order and safety.

It can be said that these targets will be met when the economy undergoes fundamental change and national income provides for all social consumption and the formation of capital from within the national economy; when the gross social product increases, is better balanced, meets an important portion of domestic needs and provides an increasingly large volume of exports so that we can import products that are not yet being produced domestically or not being produced in sufficient quantities; when there is a full and timely supply of products of export value so that we can repay loans (including interest) to other countries on time; when we have established truly thorough and effective state inventory and control over the production, distribution, circulation and consumption of the social product; when frugality has become a more strongly established practice and close control has been established over the amount of labor performed and the amount of remuneration received by the various members of society; when the socialist economic segment becomes the dominant segment of the national economy; and when socialization is gradually carried out and becomes reality within the system of social production.

As regards the conditions that we need to move forward, we must adhere to the laws of development and through the subjective, positive impact of management, solve the following number of problems:

1. We must continue to mold the Vietnamese man and woman, these persons who are the masters and our most dynamic strength, are the objects of our efforts and in whom our most important gains and assets lie. We must build upon the tenacious, unyielding and revolutionary character and the high sense of community of the Vietnamese. We must cultivate a truly scientific and objective method of thinking and grasp concepts, categories and laws so that we can make an effective impact upon the process of producing material wealth and creating cultural and spiritual values. We must learn the essence of the ideas and work methods of others and the entire intellectual storehouse of mankind in the full scope of its varied development, both in breadth and depth.

Due to the requirement that we advance directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development and the fact that the "birth pains" of the period of transition might last longer and be more difficult than in some countries that have experienced the industrial revolution, it is necessary that we quickly cultivate within ourselves the habits of thinking about what we are doing when working, working productively and working on the basis of contracts and cooperation; the concept of saving time, a strict sense of organization and discipline and a sense of order; the ability to organize life, work and relaxation in a rational way based on knowledge of the psychology, physiology and anatomy of man, of the achievements of medical science and the science of maintaining good health; modern work skills and techniques that are well suited to the Vietnamese and the ability to scientifically organize labor at basic units, within the material production sectors and at state management agencies.

2. The world today is divided into two socio-economic systems, in addition to which there are the developing countries. Each system has an objective, internal need to have a homogenous economy and closely tie science, technology and production together under a specific strategy. Our country must display independence and autonomy in a manner closely linked to relying completely upon the effective assistance provided by the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. We must strongly develop the division of labor and comprehensive international cooperation with the member countries of CEMA and especially with the two friendly countries of Laos and Cambodia. At the same time, we must have a correct foreign policy toward other countries.

3. We must make full use of the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution under our strategy of simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions: the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution. Our country must keep abreast of developments in the scientific-technological revolution that is currently the focus of world attention. This revolution has become the scene of an extremely bitter struggle between the two world systems--socialism and capitalism.

Importance must be attached to the following special characteristics of the modern scientific-technological revolution:

a) The energy potentials of society have markedly increased on the basis of creating new ways of producing electric power (such as the first atomic power plant in the Soviet Union constructed in 1954) and raising the efficiency of energy systems.

b) Entire production processes, including all elements of machine systems, are being automated.

c) A turning point has been reached in the field of industrial processes, as seen in the application of science in production, of technical electricity, laser technology, the microorganism industry, etc.

d) The scientific-technological revolution even encompasses the most conservative factor of production forces, the objects of labor. The use of raw materials from plants and animals has declined. The use of minerals has increased and natural raw materials are being replaced by synthetic materials.

e) There has been a shift to four-component machine systems based on the application of cybernetics to the production management process (to the three traditional components of a machine system, the power source, control equipment and working machine, a new component has now been added: the management component). The function of the management component is being undertaken on an increasingly large scale by computers with the aim of performing management and planning tasks. A machine (according to K. Marx) is the extension of man's hands. A computer is considered to be an extension of man's brain.

4. Measures must be taken to process, collate and make available to the public statistical data and some materials on basic investigations and economic zoning, which are very necessary in researching and drawing up charts on those factors that determine economic growth, in the forecast system (3) and in drafting well-coordinated, goal oriented programs in such fields as grain production, consumer goods production and public services; energy; communications-transportation and the entire infrastructure supporting production and capital construction; and the information-liaison system, the purpose here being to insure effective economic and social management.

We must formulate 5-year plans and 10-15 year long-term plans up until the year 2000 and coordinate them with the development plans of the member countries of CEMA.

We must research and establish an optimum joint-sector production system, one which insures that production and capital construction are restructured in accordance with an investment policy and a policy on the structure of the socio-economic system in the process of dynamic change that are based on the final product and on economic efficiency.

5. We must strengthen the national financial system; provide sources of investment capital; restore the circulation of money to a wholesome state and stabilize the purchasing power of the dong; expand and strengthen the monetary-credit system on the basis of understanding and applying the system of economic laws; develop commodity production; utilize commodity-money relations in a planned manner in the period of transition to socialism in our country; establish the management and planning mechanism and implement economic accounting and socialist business practices.

Nguyen Anh Bac:

Our country is in the initial stage of building an economy based on large-scale, socialist production. It is also the initial stage of building the socialist Vietnamese fatherland's national defense system, a national defense system in which all the people participate.

In this stage, the economy still faces many difficulties and is seriously imbalanced. Our country is also in a situation in which it is at peace but must contend with a wide-ranging war of sabotage and a border war of encroachment and occupation being waged by the Beijing expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists. At the same time, we must be ready to deal with a large-scale war of aggression, should one break out.

To meet all four of the general socio-economic targets set by the 5th Party Congress, a strategy for socio-economic development that correctly reflects combining the economy with national defense, national defense with the economy in this stage must be designed to meet the following strategic objectives:

1. Bringing about a fundamental change in the state of the national economy, correcting the serious imbalances that currently exist and establishing a rational economic structure in each zone, each locality and nationwide within a unified overall economic structure, one that correctly reflects combining the economy with national defense, thus creating a unified strategic deployment in which we are the masters of both the economy and national defense and increasing the combined strength of national defense forces by an important degree within each zone, each locality and nationwide so that we can defeat each of the enemy's schemes and acts of sabotage.

2. Creating within the national economy the conditions needed to improve our ability to maintain a stable national defense and do so upon a foundation that is increasingly solid, thereby enabling us to meet pressing immediate needs as best possible and laying the groundwork for building and developing the national defense industry in coordination with accelerating socialist industrialization in the next stage.

3. Completing the preparations for mobilizing the economy to resist a war of aggression, preparations which must insure the successful implementation of our strategic guidelines: placing foremost importance upon socialist construction while not relaxing our national defense efforts for one moment.

4. Achieving a rational, solidly based balance that supports economic development between the mobilization of labor and material wealth for national defense and the mobilization of labor and material wealth for the economy.

To meet the above mentioned strategic objectives, the following strategic guidelines for combining the economy with national defense must be examined when deciding matters concerning the strategy for socio-economic development:

1. Building and developing the economy in the areas along the northern border, in the Central Highlands and eastern Nam Bo with a view toward fundamentally improving our defensive posture in these areas and achieving a new level of qualitative development of the combined strength of the national defense forces of all the people so that we are strong enough to defeat every activity of the enemy in their border war of encroachment and occupation and their wide-ranging war of sabotage, thereby making a decisive contribution to stabilizing the situation nationwide.

2. Building an economic structure within each locality, district and province that truly serves as the direct economic base of the national defense forces in the locality, makes each district a military fortress, each province a strategic national defense unit and insures that the national defense system

of the entire country undergoes a marked change and is solidly based at each basic unit and within each locality.

3. Stabilizing the national defense production and support tasks of the localities and economic-technical sectors; establishing, on this basis, a rational structure for each economic-technical sector and the specialized basic production units of the national defense system with the aim of improving our ability to provide the material-technical bases of a modern national defense system of all the people, of a modern, regular people's army in increasingly large quantities and producing an increasingly wide variety of products that meet qualitative standards and are delivered as and when required; insuring that the steps taken do not create an imbalance or difficulty for the economy; giving priority to investing in those industrial sectors that directly support the economy and national defense; and restructuring the industrial sectors that are directly related to the guideline of building and developing the national defense industry in accordance with a strategic deployment that is consistent with the defense deployment of the entire country.

4. Building and developing a three-level structural system that is consistent with the structure of the economy and national defense in order to achieve the highest possible impact from both tasks of building and defending the fatherland; making appropriate investments in those areas in which maintaining combat readiness is an urgent task;

5. Revamping and reorganizing, in coordination with building anew, the structure of the scientific-technical sectors in ways that permit us to fully utilize each scientific and technical force of the entire country to support the entire cause of building and defending the fatherland and lay a good foundation for building and developing Vietnamese military science and technology in the next stage;

6. Combining the labor obligation with the military obligation, the organization of labor with the organization of the military, building widespread mass armed forces, building up the mobilizable reserve forces of the army and laying the groundwork for eventually achieving, from the standpoint of mobilizing labor for the standing army in peace time but still being ready to quickly mobilize combat forces when demanded by the situation, a rational, stable relationship that benefits the economy.

One of the strategic measures in combining the economy with national defense is to make rational use of army forces, through various forms of military organizations, in economic construction. For example, the units of the army tasked with maintaining combat readiness in strategic areas are a strategic force in building the economy and national defense system within the locality. Some specialized basic production units of the national defense system that are highly capable of producing civilian goods and export goods will be restructured and reorganized in order to directly support the army while participating in the production of consumer or export goods within the overall structure and under the common plan of the national economy. Construction forces of the army can undertake the construction of many economic projects and new economic zones for the state. This is also one of the methods of organizing labor that enables us to combine the labor obligation with the military obligation in order to carry out economic programs on which labor must be concentrated so that they can be completed in a short amount of time.

One of the important requirements in combining the economy with national defense is for the state to correctly apply economic laws and the laws involved in building a national defense system of all the people through necessary principles, policies, orders and regulations governing economic activities that directly support national defense, economic activities within the army, the economic work of the army, the requirements involved in preparing to mobilize the economy and shift it from a peace time to a war time footing...

Phan Van Tiem:

Concerning the law of value and its impact in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism in our country:

The realities of social production have completely confirmed a fundamental principle of Marxist economics, that the commodity economy and its categories of laws are historic categories. Their emergence, development and application are closely tied to certain socio-economic forms, which are distinguished from one another by who owns the means of production. The law of value is the primary, universal economic law of social production as long as this production takes the form of a commodity economy.

History has also caused the emergence of two different types of commodity production: the first type arose and developed on the basis of private ownership of the means of production and the second arose and developed on the basis of public ownership of the means of production. The first type came into existence before the second. In each type, the scope, mode and intensity of the impact of the law of value differ. From the standpoint of scope and intensity, the law of value plays the prominent role in the first type. Here, because private ownership of the means of production is the origin of commodity production, the law of value plays the role of universally controlling production. It is the law that regulates commodity production. This law is of limited scope and intensity within a commodity economy based on the public ownership of the means of production.

From the above, we can see the prominent features of the role played by the law of value in social production during the period of transition, especially during its initial stage, compared to the stage of developed socialism and even the subsequent stages of the period of transition. These features are determined by the fact that many different segments exist within the economy during this initial stage, a stage in which the economic relations within the non-socialist segments of the economy and the necessary relations that exist with regard to reproduction between these segments and the socialist segments of the economy are still under the very strong impact of the law of value. This law also has the objective impact of regulating production and circulation through these relations.

The law of value always exerts its impact through the functions of the categories of commodities-money, circulation, the market, commodities, money, value, prices, credit, profit and so forth and the impact of the laws of a commodity economy: supply-demand and the circulation of money. The economic content and nature of these categories are completely different under the conditions of a commodity economy based on the private ownership of the means of production (which includes the private segment of an economy) than they are in a commodity economy based on public ownership. In the first case, which also applies to the non-socialist segments of the economy in the initial stage of the period of transition, the law of value has a spontaneous impact and is closely tied to the economic laws of a capitalist commodity economy, depending upon the scope and level of development of this form of commodity economy. Here, it is necessary to confirm the role played by the law of competition and the law of surplus value.

Together with the emergence, development and expansion of public ownership of the means of production, a new type of commodity production (socialist commodity production) has also developed in the initial stage of the period of transition, mainly within the socialist segments of the economy. Here, the impact of the categories of a commodity economy as well as the impact of the law of value occur in a planned manner and are closely tied to the laws of a socialist economy: the fundamental economic law, the law of the planned and balanced development of the national economy, the law of economizing on work time and the law of distribution in accordance with labor.

The economy during the period of transition is a single entity. The process of reproduction involves all segments of the economy. The socialist segments of the economy operates in accordance with its own laws. Here, the impact of the law of value is planned and always exerts an influence upon the other segments of the economy through the relationships among them in reproduction. The extent of this influence is determined by the continuous growth of the socialist economy.

The national economy during the period of transition consists of two components based on the two types of ownership of the means of production. The national market also consists of two corresponding components. Because the law of value exerts an impact through two different types of production relations, the nature of this impact differs within each of the two groups of economic segments.

The dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist segments of the economy in the initial stage of the period of transition are the internal prerequisites to the economy during the period of transition moving down the path of development of socialism. At the same time, they are the objective conditions that must exist in order to consciously apply economic laws, including the law of value, and in order for the state to manage the economy in a planned manner.

Applying the law of value creates the objective conditions for using this law to support the socio-economic targets of the state and limiting the negative consequences (compared to these goals) resulting from the impact of this law.

In the initial stage of the period of transition, the application of the law of value in the management of the national economy must be designed to meet the following major objectives:

a) Encouraging the laborers and economic organizations of all segments of the economy to display activism in developing production, rapidly increasing the gross social product and national income in a way that is rationally structured, constantly increasing the efficiency of social production and satisfying the needs of society during each period;

b) Developing, on a priority basis, and increasing the strength of the socialist segments of the economy while gradually limiting the development of the capitalist segments and curbing the spontaneous development toward capitalism of small-scale commodity production;

c) Developing the national market in breadth and depth so that it becomes a strong force stimulating the development of the economy and evolves from a subsistence economy into a commodity production economy, from a crippled structure into a structure that is integrated and well balanced, thereby helping to gradually rebuild the structure of social production in order to maintain a high rate of development and more fully meet the needs of society;

d) Distributing and redistributing national income among the various segments of the economy and strata of the population in all areas of the country, among the different sectors of the national economy and between the formation of capital and consumption in proportions that are rational.

Tran Viet Chy:

The strategic guidelines and measures for implementing the grain strategy in our country during the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism first entail the successful implementation of population planning. In our opinion, to be consistent with grain production capabilities, we must endeavor to reduce the rate of population growth so that our population is roughly 65 million in 1990 and only about 76 million in the year 2000. Only with such a population and an increase in grain production of roughly 5.7 percent per year in the next 5 years, as was the case during the years from 1980 to 1985, or by trying to produce an additional 1 percent, can we meet the grain target set for the initial stage of the period of transition by 1992-1993. Secondly, grain production must be closely linked to the proper processing, distribution, circulation and storage of grain. We must strongly develop all aspects of the livestock production sector so that we can gradually change the structure of meals and gradually increase the quantity of food rich in vegetable and animal protein in the daily diet of the people. Thirdly, it is necessary to intensify the activities of the handicraft trades and the production of export goods within agriculture and restructure the allocation of grain and export crops where possible along lines that produce high economic returns. Some of the foreign currency generated through the exportation of agricultural products must be used to import some grain with a view toward fully meeting the grain needs of the producers of exported industrial crops, non-industrial crops and livestock, thereby helping to augment society's overall supply of grain. Fourthly, efforts must be focused on increasing the production of grain on the basis of a rational allocation of crops that is well suited to production potentials and consumer needs...

Despite considerable increases in the recent past, grain production in our country remains at a level between starvation and sufficiency and grain reserves have not been established. The actual average consumption of grain during the past 10 years, from 1976 to 1985, was 290-295 kilograms per capita per year (between 1976 and 1980, we had to import nearly 8 million tons and another 1 million tons had to be imported between 1981 and 1985). This eating standard only supplies about 1,800 calories per person per day. We must endeavor to raise calorie intake to 2,100-2,300 calories per person per day by 1990, with 15 to 20 percent being supplied by protein rich food (an average of more than 400 kilograms of grain and 15 kilograms of lean meat of various types per person). Thus, the targets that must be met by 1990 are: 25 million to 27 million tons of grain (including 22.5-23 million tons of paddy), 1-1.2 million tons of lean meat of various types, 1.7 million tons of fish, etc. To meet the target of 25,000 calories per person per day by the year 2000, with 20-25 percent being supplied by protein rich food, it will be necessary to produce about 36-38 million tons of grain (including 31-32 million tons of paddy), 1.8-2 million tons of meat, 3 million tons of fish... As a result, in our country's grain strategy, rice will continue to be our main crop followed by corn, potatoes, sweet potatoes, cassava and so forth, depending upon the conditions that exist in each area. Therefore, our country must have about 5 million hectares under the cultivation of rice by the year 2000. In the immediate future, between now and 1990, the amount of area under the cultivation of rice must be increased by 600,000 to 900,000 hectares. Rice yield must be increased by 6-7 quintals per hectare per season (compared to the current yield of 29 quintals per hectare per season). Then, we must continue our efforts and try to achieve an average yield of 45-50 quintals per hectare per season, thus bringing ourselves to the level of the higher rice yields in Southeast Asia. To accomplish this, we must develop intensive cultivation in depth and make stronger use of biological measures, material-technical factors and industrial standards in key rice growing areas, such as the Red River Delta, the Mekong Delta, etc. We must quickly establish high yield rice growing areas so that we have 2.5 million hectares under the cultivation of high yield rice by 1990 and 3 million hectares by 1995 and produce 50 percent of the country's rice output on about 30 percent of the land under the cultivation of rice. On the basis of attempting to resolve the grain problem in this manner, we will resolve society's food problem and acquire the conditions needed to change the allocation of crops, expand the cultivation of industrial crops, increase the supply of food products and export goods, etc.

As regard subsidiary food crops, efforts to develop production should mainly focus on supporting livestock production, providing some raw materials for industry and supplying some products for exportation as well as meeting the food needs of a number of areas in which the people have the habit of eating subsidiary food crops. In the next 5 years, we must plant about 1.5-1.6 million hectares and produce 3.2 to 3.6 million tons of subsidiary food crops, in paddy equivalent (thus, the amount of area under cultivation must increase at the rate of 3.6-4.3 percent and output at the rate of 7.7-9 percent per year). It has been projected that we will be raising, by the year 2000, 700,000 to 1 million hectares of corn (including 300,000 hectares of high yield corn), 500,000 to 600,000 hectares of sweet potatoes (150,000 hectares of high yield sweet potatoes), 200,000 hectares of potatoes, 500,000 to 850,000 hectares of cassava, etc. Including among those annual industrial crops that are directly related to resolving the food problem are peanuts and soybeans. These crops provide raw materials for the processing industry, are export crops and constitute an important source of protein for humans and livestock. Therefore, by 1990, we should have 400,000 hectares under the cultivation of peanuts and 300,000 hectares under the cultivation of soybeans. By the year 2000, we should have 800,000 to 1 million hectares of peanuts and 500,000 to 600,000 hectares of soybeans.

To meet the strategic targets mentioned above, we must make combined use of economic, technical and organizational measures, such as restructuring the economy, the allocation of crops and growing seasons; building the system of material-technical bases promoting the application of scientific-technical advances in production and processing; redistributing labor and the agricultural population and accelerating the development of the processing industry and the communications-transportation sector supporting agriculture; revamping the management mechanism and economic policy, perfecting production relations; expanding our international cooperation, etc.

In the immediate future, it is necessary to revamp investment, credit and price policies, the policies on the mobilization of products and procurement of grain and the policies on supplying materials and consumer goods to grain producers; improve the product contract mechanism at state-operated and collective units that raise grain, etc. We must begin by reorganizing the system that supplies and manages agricultural materials. We must correct the situation wherein the Ministry of Agriculture is the agency responsible to the Council of Ministers for agricultural production but does not have any power with regard to managing and distributing the strategic materials of its sector.

Projections for the 1986-1990 plan must include 9 million tons of nitrogen fertilizer, 4 million tons of phosphate fertilizer and 700,000 tons of potash fertilizer. However, even these levels will fall far short of production requirements. Therefore, a policy must be adopted that encourages the localities to export products so that they can acquire additional fertilizer on their own to compensate for the shortfall under the plan. To insure that agricultural enterprises can take the initiative in their production and business, we must have state policies concerning production, business, product marketing and so forth that are more specific.

Pham Van Huan:

In the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, establishing a rational economic structure and a management mechanism that is consistent with socio-economic characteristics is a matter of special importance. The establishment of a rational economic structure at an early date will create favorable conditions for meeting the basic targets of the country in the current stage that were set by the 5th Party Congress:

--Stabilizing and eventually improving the material and cultural lives of the people;

--Completing the socialist transformation of the various segments of the economy;

--Building material-technical bases with a view toward meeting immediate requirements while preparing the conditions for development in subsequent years;

--Meeting the country's defense needs, strengthening the national defense system and maintaining security.

A rational economic structure must correctly "establish" the position of the energy industry in the development of the national economy. Because, it is the basic economic sector of the infrastructure that plays the role as the moving force behind the system of social production; and the extent to which energy is used not only reflects the level of economic development, but also the standard of living and quality of life of every society. In the past, our supply of energy and fuel has not met production or consumer needs. On the other hand, energy and fuel have been used in a very wasteful manner. Meanwhile, the state has not enacted a system of rational policies on the development, processing, distribution and use of energy. Therefore, the energy sector is not truly fulfilling its role as an economic sector of the infrastructure. Our pressing task is to define, on the basis of the potential energy sources, rate of economic development and level of scientific and technical development of our country, a strategy for developing, processing and using energy as well as policies that promote energy science and technology with the aim of building an energy system that is reliable and well-coordinated with the other sectors of the economy.

Our energy development strategy for the years ahead must meet the following objectives:

1. We must build a reliable national energy system (coal, oil, electricity) and do so in advance of development in other sectors so that it serves as the backbone of industrialization. By the year 2000, coal will still account for roughly 23 percent of the total energy consumed. Therefore, over the long range, coal will continue to be the important source of fuel of the industrial sectors. Petroleum exploration, extraction and refining must be accelerated so that we eventually achieve our own stable supply of this liquid fuel. We must establish an electric power system that is strong enough to lay the groundwork for electrification, stimulate the development of the economic and cultural sectors, etc.

2. Importance must be attached to the development of small, scattered energy sources, small coal mines, small and very small hydroelectric power plants and sources of recycled energy. These energy sources, although they do not constitute a significant percentage of the overall energy and fuel balance, do yield high economic returns, especially medium, small and very small hydroelectric power plants, by effectively supporting the cultural and social development needs of the people, especially the people and soldiers in remote,

wilderness areas and creating jobs for many laborers while helping to raise productivity and reduce the intensity with which the laborer must work. The development of small energy sources is totally consistent with our design, manufacture, equipment and operating capabilities and is a quick and inexpensive approach to take.

3. We must strongly develop sources of fuel from vegetation and biogas from garbage while developing the widespread use of highly efficient household stoves with the aim of providing a stable and long-range supply of energy for the household to all the people. Household energy will continue to account for roughly 40 percent of the total energy consumed (up until the year 2000); therefore, supplying household energy is an important strategic target.

4. We must develop our international cooperation in order to build the national energy network, beginning with international cooperation in the development of petroleum and natural gas. At the same time, urgent preparations must be made for the development of atomic power. We must cooperate in harnessing the Mekong River and establish a common power system for the countries of this region by the end of this century.

These four targets are closely interrelated. The first and fourth targets demand large investments of materials, money and technology and must, therefore, be undertaken by the central level. The second and third targets are the responsibility of the locality (province, district, village) with technical assistance from the central level. Localities must mobilize their potentials and develop local energy sources with a view toward carrying out economic and cultural development and supporting the everyday lives of the local people.

Our strategy on the use of energy must have the purpose of controlling the structure of use and the development of energy needs so that the ways in which energy is used are rational and highly efficient. The structure of energy use must be consistent with the structure of energy sources and limit the use of technologies which require types of fuel that are scarce in our country. At the same time, efforts must be made to convert these technologies to types of energy and fuel of which we have a large potential supply. In the use of energy, attention must be given to shifting away from "energy intensive" operations, beginning at each basic unit, in each sector and locality and then on the scale of the entire national economy. In view of the fact that our investment capital is still very limited, shifting away from energy intensive operations so that we can still increase the volume of products produced for society without using much energy is a way to economize on capital invested in energy. If we use energy in a way that is rational and efficient, we would reduce the strain between supply and demand. This would constitute an industrial revolution in the use of energy.

Tran Ngoc Canh:

Ours is an agricultural country. We have much agricultural labor. In the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, with industrial development still limited, changes in the division of labor among the various sectors of the national economy have also only been achieved to a limited degree. At present, of the total labor force of the material production sectors, the labor engaged in agricultural production and forestry accounts for more than 60 percent, the major portion of which is engaged in grain production (63 percent of the total agricultural labor force). The structure of the division of social labor has not changed to any significant degree. Moreover, the level of development of the tools of labor is still low and agricultural labor remains primarily manual labor (mechanized labor in agriculture accounts for only 23.7 percent of the work involved in the preparation of fields, 0.5 percent of the work involved in water conservancy, etc.).

Of necessity, agricultural labor is closely tied to land. However, the average amount of cropland per laborer in our country is low (.5-.7 mau of farmland per laborer). But the division of labor is not uniform among all areas of our country. In the lowlands, there is much labor but little farmland. The mountains account for three-fourths of our country's land but only about 10 percent of the total labor force. The redistribution of the agricultural labor force throughout the country, although it has been initiated and yielded some results, still has, for all intents and purposes, not changed this situation. Moreover, agricultural production is very seasonal in nature. At times, labor is in very short supply. At many other times, labor is idle. Therefore, even at places where the average amount of cropland per laborer is high, agricultural labor is still not, generally speaking, fully utilized. In addition, although we are advancing on the basis of a backward agricultural country and our material-technical bases are very limited, labor is not being focused on developing the potentials that lie in our land, even though these potentials are many.

The sources of labor within agriculture are not being fully utilized. Within the state-operated sector, the average laborer only works about 20 to 22 days per month. Within the collective sector, the utilization of labor varies among the different areas of the country and generally remains at a low level: in the lowlands, the average laborer only works 250 days per year for the cooperative. In the mountains, the average laborer works only about 150 days per year for the cooperative. At many places in Nam Bo, the average laborer only works about 100 days per year for the cooperative or production collective. Because the household economy is dependent upon production conditions within each area and household, its development varies very widely from one area to the next and one family to the next. Generally speaking, there is still a surplus of labor and shortage of work in the countryside. The sources of labor are not being fully utilized and the productivity of the labor being utilized is, generally speaking, still low.

In view of the situation described above and the gradual socio-economic changes taking place in the period of transition (annual growth in the labor force, the development of material-technical bases, the expansion of agricultural science and technology and so forth), the steps taken to resolve the agricultural labor problem in our country during the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism must meet four requirements:

1. Agricultural labor must not only fully meet the needs of the development of industry and the other sectors of the economy, but must also meet the labor

needs of each agricultural area. This must be done in the following ways: by concentrating labor in areas that practice the intensive cultivation of grain, areas that produce agricultural products for exportation and industrial crop growing areas and establishing a satisfactory relationship between agriculture and forestry, between agriculture-forestry and the other sectors and trades in the countryside and between productive labor and the defense of the fatherland.

2. Establishing stable stages of development in the distribution and utilization of labor for the 1990's by building models for organizing labor in the different areas of the country and economic forms that closely link the organization of production and the structure of the economy to the organization and utilization of labor; expanding the various forms of economic ties and joint businesses; and creating specific economic forms that are compatible with the characteristics of agricultural production at each place and within each segment of the economy.

3. Bringing about a change in agricultural labor productivity in accordance with the following general requirement: working many days per year and producing an increasingly large volume of agricultural products of increasingly high quality. In particular, labor productivity must be quickly raised in those areas that specialize in the production of export crops and areas that practice the intensive cultivation of grain.

4. Improving the living and working conditions of the laborer and raising the overall level of development of the laborer, that is, his development from the standpoint of physical conditioning, cultural standards, scientific and technical knowledge and thinking. In particular, we must properly meet the labor protection and technical safety needs as well as the needs in the material and cultural lives of laborers in strenuous and hazardous jobs and laborers in areas along the border.

To meet the above requirements, it is necessary to resolve the problems associated with the distribution of labor, organization and use of labor and improve the tools and equipment used by labor. As regards the distribution of labor, we must, on the basis of distributing labor within the agricultural sector well, closely tie agriculture and forestry to the sectors and trades in the countryside and move forward with a new division of labor between agriculture and industry, one that reduces the size of the agricultural labor force, so that we can gradually increase the labor force of the industrial sectors in preparation for expanding the new division of labor among the various sectors of the country after the year 2000. From the standpoint of organizing and utilizing labor, we must, on the basis of correctly defining the forms of economic organization at each place, forms that must be tied to a rational economic structure, organize and distribute labor accordingly and subsequently expand the cooperation and division of labor among the economic organizations within the same area and throughout the territory. As regards tools and equipment, we must combine hand tools, semi-mechanized and mechanized equipment, with special importance attached to hand tools combined with improved implements and semi-mechanized equipment so that we can move forward.

To take steps in these directions, it is necessary in the next 5 years (1986-1990) to concentrate on distributing and utilizing local labor in a manner closely tied to the district and combined with redistributing agricultural labor nationwide. Distributing and utilizing local labor are the universal approach to be take at all places. This approach will provide the conditions needed to get work done and be inexpensive but yield rapid economic returns. The purposes of this approach are investing labor in intensive cultivation and multicropping and in expanding the amount of area under cultivation; investing labor in afforestation, in hillside cultivation, in closely linking the forest and hills to cropland; and investing labor in the development of the sectors and trades within agriculture.

We must promote the establishment of economic ties and joint businesses in production and expand the cooperation and division of labor within agriculture on the basis of the principle of guaranteeing the interests of producers and production units while consolidating and perfecting socialist production relations and strengthening the guidance of the economy by the state. At our current level of development, the following kinds of economic ties should be expanded within agriculture: economic ties in the production, procurement, processing and marketing of products between state farms and cooperatives and the local people; economic ties in the supplying of technical materials; economic ties among the factors involved in seed production, etc. With these forms of economic ties, it is necessary to have a strong economic organization that serves as the center. This center must be a state farm or a technical station or farm of the state.

The fullest possible use must be made of the labor of families in order to help stimulate the development of agriculture. In the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, we cannot bring each laborer into work within organizations of the state-operated economy or the collective economy. Rather, we must also create the conditions for the laborers of all families to have work to do at home. To truly tap the labor of families, we must not only expand the joint businesses and economic ties in production between state-operated and collective units and families, strengthen the product contracts with groups of laborers and individual laborers and make greater use of the various ways that production and processing work are let out on contract to families at state-operated and collective agricultural production units, but must also provide to the laborers of families the seed, material bases, capital and so forth that they need to carry out production. Depending upon the specific production situation in each area, state farms and cooperatives should endeavor to arrange for family labor to have work to perform each day.

Nguyen Te:

In the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism, the redistribution of labor and population among the different areas of our country occupies a very important position within our socio-economic strategy because it is related to the distribution of production and the formation of the overall economic structure of the entire national economy as well as the establishment of a new division of social labor in the process of industrialization.

It can be said that the current distribution of the population and labor force in our country is not consistent with the objects of labor and does not put us in a position in which we are ready to advance to large-scale, socialist production. This is also one of the reasons why our country's economy is underdeveloped. Therefore, one pressing task that has been set by our party is: "Making full use of the social labor force; organizing and managing labor well; and redistributing labor among the various areas and sectors of the country with the aim of markedly raising social labor productivity."(4)

In our nation's history of migration and the opening of new land to cultivation, the past 10 years have been the period of largest migration. In a brief span of time and under exceedingly difficult and complex circumstances, we have opened much land to cultivation, thereby making important contributions to redistributing the labor force and correcting, to some extent, the imbalance between the population and the objects of labor throughout the country.

In the years ahead, the redistribution of labor and population and the establishment of a new division of social labor will proceed simultaneously on all three fronts.

--On the scope of the entire country, as a result of the formation of new economic-technical sectors;

--In the different areas of the country, as a result of changes in the structure of the economy within each area;

--At basic units.

These three aspects of this process have a reciprocal impact upon one another and exert a rather large influence upon the redistribution of labor and population within each area.

The local redistribution of labor and population as well as the redistribution of labor and population among the different areas of the country are a matter of strategic significance, are consistent with our current socio-economic situation and the pressing requirements of our country, namely, providing jobs, relocating labor and population in order to develop agricultural production, the fishing industry and forestry, increasing our exports and preparing technical labor forces to meet the requirements of large-scale socialist industrialization in the next stage. The local redistribution of labor, the creation of jobs through intensive cultivation and multicropping and the development of the sectors and trades, especially the development of small industry, the handicraft trades and the services, within the scope of districts and at agricultural production cooperatives are of important significance in the redistribution of labor within each district, in each province and nationwide.

The redistribution of labor to correct the imbalance that exists between the population and the objects of labor nationwide must be carried out on a large-scale. The redistribution of labor and population among the different areas within each locality and throughout the country and the establishment of economic ties among districts in order to redistribute labor through the strength of the people and with the assistance of the state will take place throughout the initial stage of the period of transition. In conjunction with establishing a new local division of labor and preparing technical labor forces to meet the requirements of the industrialization of the country, 10 million laborers must be relocated within and among the different areas of the country and 2 million nomads must be settled in order to increase the amount of land in use in agriculture and forestry in our country from 15 million to 25 million hectares (10 million hectares of agricultural land, 15 million hectares of land in use in forestry) by the year 2000. If we succeed in meeting the target of 10 million hectares of agricultural land by the year 2000, the population density per hectare of agricultural land will still be about 10 persons.

In the North, on the basis of the sources of raw materials available for the development of industry, it is totally consistent for us to develop heavy industry around such specialized sectors as coal, electric power, mining, tin, iron, steel, chemicals, fertilizer, cement and machinery. Key industrial sectors will be formed in the North that have a profound impact upon the division of social labor throughout the country. However, because of the structure of the labor force and population in the North, the North will not need to have as large a population or labor force as the provinces of the South. On the other hand, the distribution of the population and labor in the North must also be weighed from the standpoint of our grain and transportation strategies so that the labor force and population are of appropriate size. In the South, it is necessary to use much more labor than in the North due to the need to develop light industry and a number of heavy industrial sectors, such as the mining of bauxite, petroleum and natural gas production, petrochemical production, machine production and so forth, and because the South is the major rice growing region.

In the future, municipalities and cities will not only lie along rivers or be located at transportation hubs in the lowlands, but will also be established in the mountains. The highland of Central Vietnam, coastal areas and large islands will also become population centers through urbanization.

The capital Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City and other municipalities, such as Haiphong, Da Nang, Vinh, Hue, Nam Dinh, Da Lat, Can Tho and so forth, will develop into large, densely populated municipalities that are connected to many other municipalities and towns and to industrial zones.

We must soon plan the urban network of the country in accordance with a model of a country that has a developed industry and agriculture, with importance attached to protecting the environment and creating conditions and means of life that are consistent with the momentum of development of science and technology and of the civilized life of the future.

In the future, with a total population of roughly 100 million, some 50 million persons will be living in the municipalities and towns. On the momentum of socialist industrialization, this number will steadily increase and represent the major portion of the population. In the countryside of Vietnam during this period, population centers will form (although the size of the population and the layout of these centers will differ depending upon the nationality and the region--the lowlands, midlands, mountains--all must be convenient places to live in terms of transportation, electrification, mechanization and the urbanization of life... The makeup of the population in the highlands of central Vietnam and in the Northwest will undergo major changes and the more than 2,000 large and small islands will also be places to which population is redistributed. The design of the models of population centers (or population clusters) must be well suited to each area, consistent with the characteristics of each ethnic group within the country and based on the following factors: the structure of the economy within each area, the natural economic geography of each area, the infrastructure, developed socialist commodity production, the biological characteristics of each ethnic group...

We must actively promote preparations for the redistribution of labor and population under the 1986-1990 Five Year Plan and up until the year 2000.

In the immediate future, in order to prepare for opening an additional 1.5-2 million hectares of agricultural land, planting about 3.5-4 million hectares of forests and redistributing about 2 million laborers to new economic zones under the 1986-1990 plan, it is necessary to accelerate the work of preparing sites and portions of the population while conducting good basic investigations to lay the foundation for planning and preparing investments. In addition, we must plan and design sites well and draft plans for the redistribution of labor and population, with attention to such areas of key importance as the Central Highlands of central Vietnam, eastern Nam Bo and the Mekong Delta, and for sending a portion of the population to the mountains of the North.

To perform the above mentioned tasks, we must combine the drafting of the master diagram on the distribution of production forces, the zoning of Vietnam's major economic zones, sector planning and the planning of new economic zones.

The redistribution of labor and population in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism is an important part of our economic and national defense strategies and must be carried out under the guidelines "the state and the people working together," "the central level and the locality working together" in order to achieve high returns at low costs and meet the requirement of redistributing labor and population on a large scale.

Correctly and fully carrying out the task of redistributing social labor in a manner closely tied to reorganizing production, establishing a rational economic structure and establishing new population centers in all regions of the country in exact accordance with the line and policies of the party and state will insure that the country's abundant sources of labor are utilized well, insure that the resources of our land, forests and offshore waters are developed well, thereby rapidly increasing the social product and social labor productivity, building the new, socialist countryside and a new urban network, closely combining the economy with national defense and vice versa and creating a new spirit for building and defending the country in this new stage in our history.

Ho Nhat Dan:

In the recent past, new advances have been made in the transformation of the old production relations and the establishment of the new, socialist production relations within our country's fishing industry. In the North today, there are 341 cooperatives and 3 production collectives with 43,890 laborers, 77.3 percent of the fishing industry's labor force. Of this number, 102 cooperatives, or 30 percent of the total, are above average cooperatives. In the South, the transformation of the fishing industry has been underway since 1976. To date, we have established 636 cooperatives and 1,772 production collectives consisting of 76,865 laborers, about 50 percent of the total labor force of the fishing industry in the South, and 11,992 ships and boats, 41.4 percent of the total fleet and 60.9 percent of existing horsepower.

These achievements of important significance have liberated the majority of fishermen from exploitation and brought them within the sphere of socialism. Generally speaking, however, we have only begun to centralize the means of production. The other areas of production have not been given attention. Therefore, the transformation of our country's fishing industry in the recent past has continued to be separated from building, has not been consistent with the characteristics of the sector's production or well suited to the different economic segments that exist during the period of transition...

As we know, the purpose of distributing cropland to poor peasants in agrarian reform was to provide them with a livelihood. Along the seacoast, this democratic reform only abolished the right to own a section of river or an area at sea. The relationships under which fishermen were exploited were not abolished. To the peasant, cropland is a primary and special means of production. However, it cannot be moved. The fisherman's mean of production are gear, nets and boats, all of which can be easily moved... Therefore, if the forms of organization we employ and the steps we take in transformation are not appropriate, if they violate the principle of voluntary association, the reaction by fishermen can be greater than the reaction by peasants. When peasants embarked on collective production and contributed their cropland and means of production as public property, the collectivization of cropland and other means of production in agriculture was an important issue in shifting from private to collective production. Within the fishing industry, after being liberated from the yoke of colonialism, some fishermen received state assistance in the form of loans. On the other hand, they voluntarily pooled capital to jointly buy boats and nets. Therefore, when the means of production were collectivized, many boats and nets were already public property. For this reason, when collectivizing the fishing industry, ownership of the means of production is a less difficult problem to solve than it is within agriculture. On the other hand, because they are accustomed to working on rivers or at sea and despite the existence of private production relations, simple forms of cooperation spontaneously developed among laborers or between the crew and owner of a ship or boat. As a result, agitating among fishermen to join collective production is certainly not as difficult as agitating among peasants, who are accustomed to being "self-reliant," accustomed to having their "own fields," "own orchards" and so forth. When the country was reunified, the transformation of the fishing industry took on new features. In the South, a small number of boat owners are bourgeoisie. The majority, however, are small owners who directly participate in productive labor. Although somewhat exploitative, they are generally technically proficient and skilled in their occupation. Among these small owners is a small number who do not participate in fishing operations, who only do business by operating their boat and taking part of the catch. Generally speaking, working fishermen are still the main production force within the fishing industry. They have direct relations with boat owners but boat owners are also their neighbors or relatives (in addition, there are also some laborers who work for hire). Consequently, the method of distribution is "negotiation" between employer and employee. Therefore, once the means of production have been collectivized, success in the transformation of the fishing industry largely depends upon the establishment of economic relations between the state and the collective, between the collective and fishermen. These relations are most clearly expressed in the economic policy of the state concerning fishermen, in the method of distribution among fishermen, the collective and the state. The transformation of the fishing industry has recently been slow and unsteady because we have not recognized this basic issue.

In the period of transition to socialism in our country, a country that has an underdeveloped economy, a country in which small-scale production predominates, a country that is advancing directly to socialism..., the socialist transformation of the fishing industry is not the same as it is in countries that have a highly developed fishing industry and have experienced the stage of capitalist development. The socialist transformation of our country's fishing industry, therefore, mainly entails establishing the new, socialist production relations and developing suitable transitional forms of economic organization in order to guide fishermen to socialism. Together with transforming the bourgeoisie and small producers within the fishing industry, it is necessary to have state-operated fishing forces undertake the production, harvesting, cultivation and processing of marine products with modern equipment and on a large scale. The dominant role of the state-operated economy within the fishing industry during this period lies, of course, not in producing the bulk of the industry's products, but in providing technical assistance to collectives and fishermen, properly fulfilling its main task, namely, carrying out production and business, and trying to organize and provide an important portion of fishing services to the entire civilian fishing industry through joint business and economic ties with collectives and households with the aim of making them satellite units that operate within the sphere of socialism.

In the South, we must continue the transformation of the fishing industry through the most widely used form of organization, the production collective (cooperatives should only be established where conditions permit), with efforts focused first on the main trades within the fishing industry, highly productive trades and trades that produce products of export value.

In the North, the task we face in the transformation of the fishing industry in the years ahead is to continue to consolidate and perfect production relations. Fishing cooperatives must gradually stabilize their production and business guidelines, establish a rational structure of occupations and operate a general business, one which is based mainly on fishing but combines fishing with agriculture, forestry, match making and other trades while developing the household economy.

In terms of scale, combining small-scale and medium-scale operations is consistent with the current level of development of production forces and level of management. A production collective should have about 30 fishermen and a few boats and produce about 100 tons of product. A cooperative should be only slightly larger than a collective. At a cooperative, anything more than 150 fishermen and 10 boats is difficult to manage. Therefore, the scale of organization and scale of production must be consistent with each other and closely linked to production guidelines, a structure of occupations... The transformation of old production relations and the building of the new within the fishing industry must, from the very outset, be closely tied to economic accounting in production and business and the principle of distribution in accordance with labor, the best forms of which are final product contracts with boat units and contracts that deal only with the payments that must be made. In distribution, attention must be given to the principle of "mutual benefit," to distribution in accordance with labor combined with distribution based on the number of shares contributed to the collective.

Those persons who earn their livings and fish by themselves and small owners who have yet to join a collective economic organization must be encouraged to use their liquid capital, tools and technical skills in cooperation with a collective or state-operated unit through many forms of economic ties and joint businesses based on the principle of "mutual benefit." The state can flexibly apply investment policy, procurement prices and fishing taxes to control products and regulate income. To carry out transformation and establish the new production relations within the fishing industry, the state should adopt economic policies concerning the collective economic sector that are more specific with regard to investment loans, marine product procurement prices, the prices of means of production, fishing taxes and so forth in order to enable production units to take the initiative in their production and business. The terms of economic contracts between the state and collective production units and the state and fishermen must be improved in order to create conditions that enable the laborer to engage in production with peace of mind and eliminate some of the difficulty and inconvenience involved in the marketing of products.

The above are some specific steps that must be taken to improve the economic relations between the state and fishermen, which we have so far failed to do. Only when we have taken all these steps, that is, when we have created sturdy "links" and "bridges" that closely tie the economic interests and the present and future life of fishermen to the socialist system will the work of transforming and building new production relations within our country's fishing industry be a total success.

Vu Huy Tu:

The organization and management of industrial production in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism are controlled by the underdeveloped state of production, especially by the fact that heavy industry has yet to meet the fundamental requirement of equipping the other sectors of the economy with technology and means of production. Industry, especially state-operated industry, is not playing a clearly dominant role within the economy. Agriculture is not strong enough to create sources of raw materials, grain and food products for the development of industry. The corps of technical cadres and workers and management cadres does not, in terms of its size, structure, skills and specialized knowledge, meet the requirements involved in organizing and managing large-scale, socialist production. Those cadres who have received systematic training are not being appropriately utilized. Management is still marked by many weaknesses and largely characterized by bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies. At the same time, there are signs of decentralization, of doing as one sees fit, of a lack of organization and discipline. Bureaucratic centralism in planning, planning that is planning in name only and economic accounting that is artificial have separated planning from economic accounting and socialist business practices. As a result, the productivity, quality and efficiency of production and business are low.

Combining planning with economic accounting and socialist business practices is a major economic management policy and a pressing economic management requirement in the initial stage of the period of transition. It guarantees that the enterprise not only completes the task assigned it under its plan, but is also able to meet costs on its own and earn a profit on the basis of flexibly applying the tools of value and market relations.

With regard to combining planning with economic accounting and socialist business practices, the following points must be made clear:

1. Planning and economic accounting are two separate economic categories of socialism. At the same time, they are the two basic methods employed in socialist economic management. Although each has its own separate characteristics and contents and although planning and economic accounting are not synonymous, they are closely related. Planning sets targets, sets direction and lays the indispensable foundation of economic accounting. Economic accounting, which is the combination of the various measures by which commodity-money relations and economic levers are applied, creates the conditions for formulating and implementing activity-production-business plans that achieve optimum results. Whereas the plan--the direct product of planning--is the main tool of management and is used to have a direct impact upon the objects of management and is of a legally binding nature, economic accounting guarantees that the centralized leadership and management provided by the state and the agencies on the upper level are combined with tapping the initiative and creativity of basic units and broadening their financial autonomy in production and business while encouraging the development and utilization of each capability and potential, accelerating the development of production and raising production efficiency, thereby insuring the successful completion of the plan at the lowest possible costs.

2. Planning and economic accounting are integral parts of the socialist economic management mechanism. Planning lies at the center of this mechanism. Economic accounting is a basic component that plays an especially important and indispensable role. Planning must be combined with economic accounting and socialist business practices not only in the stages of implementing and

evaluating the completion of the plan, but also when formulating socio-economic development strategy, drawing up estimated balance sheets, establishing plan control figures, initialling economic contracts, establishing and refining the systems of economic-technical quotas, standards and information and when establishing the other bases that underlie the formulation of the plan and efforts to guide its implementation. The plan must be combined with economic accounting and socialist business practices not only within production-business units, but on the scope of the entire sector, the entire locality and the entire national economy as well. They must be combined not only within production, but also in each aspect of social reproduction: production, capital construction, distribution-circulation and consumption. Planning must be combined with economic accounting and socialist business practices in each factor of planning (each object of planning), such as supplies, products and labor, both in kind and in terms of value. All economic ties must also be established on the basis of combining planning with economic accounting and socialist business practices.

3. The combining of planning with economic accounting and socialist business practices must be achieved on the following basis: correctly applying, in a well coordinated manner, the economic laws of socialism, among which the fundamental economic law is the nucleus and plays the role of setting the direction, setting the common targets of planning and economic accounting through the law of planned development and the law of value. There must be a thorough understanding of the principles of socialist economic management, most importantly the principle of combining political leadership with economic leadership, the principle of democratic centralism, the principle of defining and focusing efforts on areas of major importance, the principle of economic efficiency and the principle of combining material incentives with political and ideological education. The different types of basic interests, that is, the interests of society-the collective-the individual laborer, the interests of the central-local levels and basic units and the interests of units (individuals) must be closely linked in production, distribution-circulation and consumption.

4. Due to the characteristics and conditions of the period of transition to socialism, it is necessary, together with implementing economic accounting, which is of basic, primary importance, to utilize the factors of commercial accounting with a view toward encouraging enterprises to make full use of their production capacity and surplus labor, develop sources of supplies, obtain the supplies they need on their own, produce many products for society and broaden their economic ties. However, it must be understood that this commercial accounting differs in a fundamental way from commercial accounting under capitalism. Commercial accounting under socialism is practiced on the basis of having established the public ownership of the primary means of production, on the basis of a planned economy, on the basis of properly combining the different basic interests. It is practiced to a limited degree under the guidance and inspection of authorized state agencies (in the fields of prices, bank credit, supplies, labor, finance, product marketing...).

To insure that planning is combined with economic accounting and socialist business practices, it is necessary to:

--Adopt a correct investment policy designed to centralize capital for key projects of the state, with attention given to investing in intensive development with the aim of coordinating and making full use of the production capacity of existing basic units;

--Restructure and reorganize production throughout the national economy, within each sector and locality and at each basic unit, in a way that encompasses production, distribution-circulation and consumption, and expanding economic ties (both at home and abroad) with the aim of developing the combined strength of the entire economy;

--Improve planning so that the plan is truly formulated from the basic level upward under the direction of the upper levels and the plan is closely tied to the market, to economic contracts; make greater use of the law of value and the categories of value in planning;

--Revamp enterprise economic accounting and the internal organization of enterprises on the basis of fully implementing the principles of economic accounting: insuring that the enterprise can take the initiative in its production and business, is financially autonomous, supplies itself and earns a profit under appropriately centralized and unified state management;

--Re-examine, amend and perfect the ceilings on the consumption of materials, energy and labor, the use of capital...;

--Fully and correctly include all costs in production costs, eliminate costs that are irrational or do not conform with regulations, endeavor to constantly reduce production costs, eliminate the need to compensate for losses, eventually recover capital and begin earning a profit in production and business;

--Increase the use of economic levers, such as profits, taxes (state-operated revenues), wages, bonuses, materials penalties and so forth, to encourage higher productivity, quality and efficiency.

Nguyen Quang Long:

Socialist industrialization and the effort to meet the socio-economic targets set by the 5th Party Congress demand that we have very large sources of capital, in the form of both materials and money. Therefore, increasing the socialist formation of capital and establishing the correct relationship between the formation of capital and consumption are matters of decisive significance.

At present, our country is carrying out the formation of initial capital to meet the needs of industrialization in the initial stage of the period of transition as defined at the 5th Party Congress. The needs for capital are large and urgent. However, the capabilities of our economy are very limited. This is evident in the following example: under the second 5-year plan (1976-1980), the amount of capital accumulated through the state budget for investment in capital construction was equal to the total amount of capital invested in the North during the more than 20 years from 1955 to 1975.

However, this level of investment was only enough to meet about one-half of the target set under the plan and budget deficits became larger with each passing year. The level of capital formation has not increased in recent years and we have continued to be unable to balance capital sources and capital needs. This situation alone is sufficient to show just how difficult it is to accumulate capital in the initial stage. It is difficult because we must resolve pressing problems regarding living conditions while meeting the large and urgent needs of our two strategic tasks of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland amidst a situation in which the economy is still underdeveloped, production does not fully meet consumer needs, exports are not commensurate with imports and expenditures exceed revenues.

In other words, we are not accumulating capital from within the economy but face an urgent need for large amounts of capital. This contradiction can only be resolved on the basis of knowing the characteristics of small-scale production that is gradually evolving into large-scale, socialist production, fully evaluating the features of our country's situation, establishing suitable steps to be taken and adopting policies to mobilize and develop our potentials and strengths so that we can accelerate the process of forming and centralizing capital in order to create sources of initial capital for socialist industrialization and, at the same time, raise the income and meet the reasonable consumer needs of the people.

At this point in time, our potentials and strengths lie in our labor, arable land and rich natural resources, in the production capacity of small industry, the handicraft trades, the consumer goods industry and existing material-technical bases. To develop these potentials and strengths well, we can and must focus our efforts on agriculture during the initial stage of the period of transition and create an increasingly large amount of surplus labor within agriculture and produce a full supply of grain, agricultural products and food products so that we can meet domestic consumer needs and create sources of goods for exportation.

In conjunction with strongly developing agriculture, every effort must be made to develop industry, including small industry and the handicraft trades. The development of agriculture creates the conditions for (in terms of raw materials, labor and a market) and requires that industry simultaneously develop. Agriculture and industry must develop in close coordination with each other, not only to serve consumer needs well, but also to create sources of capital. These sources are the main sources of initial capital for industrialization. Heavy industry occupies the position of being given priority throughout the period of transition. At present, in view of our limited capital resources, giving rational priority to the development of heavy industry means orienting heavy industry mainly toward stimulating the development of agriculture and light industry in order to rapidly carry out the formation of capital for the development of heavy industry in the next stage.

The development of the economy permits the expansion of the domestic market and the strengthening of our economic relations with foreign countries. We must organize circulation well and closely manage the domestic market in coordination with improving and strengthening our work in the fields of prices, finances, money and credit with a view toward distributing and redistributing, in a correct, planned manner, the gross social product and national income in order to exert a positive impact upon production and the standard of living and support the capital formation and consumption policy well. At the same time, on the basis of increasing the production of exports, we must improve our foreign trade activities and accelerate our exports in order to import needed materials and technology. Domestic national income must be regulated through foreign trade in order to set aside some capital for capital formation. Expanding the use of state credit and bank credit is an effective way to mobilize contributions by the people to the process of the socialist formation of capital. Aid funds obtained through loans from foreign countries, especially from the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, are very important supplemental sources of initial capital.

As mentioned above, the high requirements we face with regard to the formation of initial capital demand that we practice frugality in consumption. However, in the initial stage of the period of transition, with socio-economic circumstances being what they are in our country, with our people, especially manual workers, civil servants and the armed forces, still encountering many difficulties in their daily lives, consumption is an issue that must be satisfactorily resolved in order to give laborers peace of mind and stimulate their desire to work. Providing a reasonable level of consumption is the prerequisite to, the moving force behind stimulating the development of the economy and increasing the formation of capital.

Of course, with our economy as underdeveloped as it is today, the level of consumption cannot be high. Consumption cannot exceed the level permitted by production and the rate at which consumption rises must be lower than the rates at which social labor productivity and national income per capita rise so that the necessary capital can be accumulated for socialist expanded reproduction. The problem we face is that we must, within the scope of the wealth we produce domestically, adopt policies that regulate and balance the income of the various strata of the population and redistribute income correctly so that laborers can replenish the energies expended in labor and live in a manner consistent with the results they contribute in accordance with the principles of socialist distribution, thus maintaining fairness in the relationship among the incomes of the members of society. At the same time, another problem we face is the need to establish a correct relationship between personal consumption and social consumption. Only by concerning ourselves with solving the problem of personal consumption in this stage, especially in view of the fact that the standard of living of the individual is still low, can we increase social consumption. Rising social consumption is an important supplement to personal consumption, is a reflection of the superiority of our society. We must concern ourselves with both of these aspects of consumption. However, with the supply of consumer goods still small, we must give more attention, must give our attention first to personal consumption with a view toward insuring that distribution for the purpose of consumption has a direct impact upon laborers by meeting minimum needs so that they can replenish the energies expended in labor, are eager to work and work in a highly disciplined, technically proficient and productive manner. Social consumption must be developed in a manner consistent with the level of development of the economy. This approach will guarantee an appropriate level of consumption and a rational relationship between personal consumption and social consumption in the current stage.

Luu Van Dat:

Concerning the overseas economy in the initial stage:

Our country is in the period of transition from a very low level of development, from a backward economy in which small-scale production is still widespread and many serious imbalances exist.

Although our entire country has been building socialism for 10 years, social production has not gone beyond simple reproduction, has not met the needs of expanded reproduction, has not stabilized the standard of living of the people and has not provided for the formation of capital from within the national economy. Under these conditions, the rapid growth of the population and continuous natural disasters have made our acute economic difficulties even more acute.

On the other hand, in view of the fact that "our country is in the special situation of being at peace but having to contend with the war of encroachment and occupation along the border and the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists," our party and state have been forced to devote an important portion of our manpower, financial resources and material resources to the defense of the socialist fatherland.

Therefore the problems that must be solved are:

--How to escape the vicious circle of low labor productivity-insufficient capital formation, insufficient capital formation (limited investments)-low labor productivity;

--How to build socialism while staunchly defending the socialist fatherland at a time when we are not producing enough to eat, expenditures exceed revenues and exports do not meet import needs.

Clearly, the above problems can only be resolved by combining internal factors with external factors, by combining self-reliance with international assistance and cooperation.

A system of small-scale production cannot advance to large-scale production without the impact of external factors. K. Marx deeply analyzed the role of foreign trade and the world market in the formation of capitalism.

V.I. Lenin also pointed out that, today, backward countries can make the transition to socialism provided that they receive assistance from the proletariat in the advanced countries and assistance from the advanced socialist countries (V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, Volume 31, p 295).

The law on the formation of initial capital in countries that are advancing to socialism from a backward agriculture requires economic relations among socialist countries that have different levels of development.

Of course, the sources of capital through which countries that are still backward form the initial capital of socialism cannot consist only of assistance from the fraternal socialist countries, but must primarily entail mobilizing and effectively developing internal potentials and making skillful use of all overseas economic relations.

However, the transition to socialism in countries that are economically backward must be based on assistance from the socialist countries that have a higher level of development, especially during the initial stage, when the formation of capital cannot be carried out or the formation of capital from within the national economy is insignificant and the ability to mobilize internal potentials and utilize overseas economic relations is still very limited. Under these conditions, international assistance, mainly from the advanced socialist countries, is of decisive significance and is indispensable in the advance by economically backward countries directly to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development.

In keeping with Lenin's argument and the law of uniform economic development among the countries of the socialist community through the assistance of the Soviet Union, many socialist countries of eastern Europe have successfully built socialism on the basis of a backward industrial system. With the assistance of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, the Republic of Cuba and the People's Republic of Mongolia are advancing to socialism at a rapid rate. The realities of socialist construction in our country also prove that the large and valuable assistance provided by the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries are a firm guarantee of success in socialist construction within our country.

Today, with many economically backward countries having chosen the socialist path of development, Lenin's argument retains its original value. However, we must take into consideration the capabilities and limits of the advanced socialist countries with regard to providing assistance to countries that have a lower level of economic development and must display an even stronger spirit of self-reliance in building our country. In conjunction with seeking international assistance, primarily assistance within the framework of the world socialist economic system, and making effective use of this assistance, it is essential that we do everything possible to mobilize and fully develop our internal potentials so that we can increase our exports and develop services that generate foreign currency revenues with a view toward achieving the targets and completing the tasks set for the initial stage.

Viewed from this perspective, exports are, in the current stage, a premise to socialist industrialization (Political Bureau resolution dated 17 July 1984) and making every effort to increase our exports so that goods can be imported is a task of strategic significance throughout the party and among all our people (Proceedings of the 5th Party Congress).

On the other hand, we must make active use of overseas economic relations with a view toward attracting capital and technology from countries outside the socialist system through appropriate forms of economic cooperation and scientific-technical cooperation based on mutual benefit.

Therefore, the development of multi-lateral overseas economic relations and the expansion of commodity trade and various forms of economic cooperation with countries that have different political-economic-social systems are consistent with the general trend of our times and our country's specific circumstances. The development of multi-lateral overseas economic relations must be based on strengthening and consolidating our economic-commercial and scientific-technical relations with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community.

The 5th Congress of the Party viewed combining the development of the domestic economy with the expansion of economic relations with foreign countries as a major economic and social policy, viewed overseas economic work as being of special importance in socialist construction in our country, especially during the initial stage of the period of transition. The congress also defined the strategic principles and primary guidelines in our overseas economic work as expanding and strengthening our cooperation in every field with the Soviet Union, developing our cooperation with the other countries of CEMA through socialist economic ties, actively participating in the international division of labor and expanding the comprehensive cooperation and mutual assistance between our country and the two fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia while appropriately expanding our economic relations with countries outside the socialist system.

The above mentioned, scientifically based views, views that have been tested in practice over the past 10 years, must be thoroughly implemented in our overseas economic strategy throughout the period of transition.

Tran Dinh Nghiem:

The unity between the economy and society in the socio-economic strategy of the current stage is of important and pressing significance. We must simultaneously accumulate capital in order to build the initial material-technical bases of socialism on the basis of a system of production that is still primarily small scale and was heavily damaged during the 30 years of war and gradually stabilize and improve the standard of living of the laboring people under the conditions of an economy that is still very unbalanced in many respects. At the same time, we must make every effort to strengthen our national defense forces and fulfill our international obligations, most importantly to Laos and Cambodia. The economic tasks we face are exceedingly large, difficult and complex. Our social tasks are also very comprehensive and pressing. The completion of these tasks is dependent, to a large degree, upon combining and balancing major economic and social targets, policies and measures within our socio-economic strategy.

The experience of the fraternal socialist countries as well as the realities of our country's revolution in years past show that the performance of economic tasks always demands that associated social problems be solved.

Conversely, meeting the material and spiritual needs of society also demands that many economic tasks be performed. The consequences of failing to take into consideration all economic and social problems and resolve them in a way that is timely and well coordinated are sometimes serious and permanent.

The economy and society are the two inseparable elements of social existence. Placing sole emphasis upon the role of the economic factor in social life erodes the positive meaning of political, ideological, cultural and social activities and thwarts man's creative activities and skills. However, placing sole emphasis upon the role of the social factor readily leads to voluntarism, to being divorced from actual circumstances, as a result of which the standards, targets and policies of socio-economic development strategy are entirely inconsistent with objective economic circumstances.

Economic construction and development strategy must be unified with social development strategy. The essence of this unity is: setting basic social guidelines, goals, policies and measures on the basis of the level and rate of economic development that have been and will be achieved in the current stage in order to organize and manage social relations and social processes in a rational way in accordance with the principles of socialism. In the final analysis, the purpose of socio-economic strategy is to insure the molding and full development of new men and women who possess superior qualities and live the socialist way of life in a manner compatible with the level of economic development.

The balanced combination of the economic factor and the social factor is expressed in a concept of development, targets of development and major policies and measures that will permit us to optimize our socio-economic strategy in the current stage by making thorough use of natural, human, economic and social potentials, gradually improve the material and cultural lives of the people, increase the rate of economic growth and develop and perfect socialist collective ownership relations.

The system of socio-economic strategic concepts can be considered the general model of every period in history. The concept of development is a very important factor and serves as the foundation for setting the direction of targets, of development policies and measures. This system of concepts must reflect the socialist character of our economy and society. However, in the current stage, the most important component of socio-economic strategy is perhaps the system of general economic and social norms. On the basis of economic norms of a strategic nature, for example, norms on the development of production forces, the establishment and perfection of production relations, the level of organization and management of the national economy, the level and rate of economic growth, scientific and technical advances, the application of these advances in production and the structure of the economy (such as the structure of sectors, the structure of areas, economic cooperative teams), corresponding standards on social development must be set. The highest, most general goal of socialist production is to satisfy the material and cultural needs of the laboring people more fully with each passing day and create the conditions for the free and full development of each individual. However, achieving this lofty goal requires many stages and many steps. In the current stage, a realistic target is to meet the essential material and cultural needs of the laboring people, especially of cadres, manual workers and the armed forces; is to begin to establish the socialist way of life and abolish the negative phenomena that are contrary to the character of socialism.

The oneness between the economy and society is also manifested in the specific economic and social policies and measures that are adopted to achieve goals. In the present stage, policies and measures must be well coordinated and consistent. They must create the conditions for stimulating one another's implementation with the aims of making the best and most efficient use possible of the country's reserves, material-technical bases, sources of labor, financial sources, the results of scientific research and applied science (in the natural sciences, social sciences and technical sciences) and economic relations with foreign countries, especially making effective use of the large and comprehensive cooperation and assistance of the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. Even the fine traditions of the nation in production and everyday life must be maintained and actively built upon through appropriate socio-economic policies.

Here, tapping the spirit of community, the spirit of democracy and equality, the spirit of diligence and creativity in labor, the sense of national self-reliance and the spirit of socialist collective ownership that has begun to be established will be of enormous significance in meeting the goals that have been set.

In broad terms, the urgent social problems to which priority must be given in our socio-economic strategy in the current stage are:

First, stabilizing and gradually improving the standard of living of the laboring people, especially cadres, manual workers and the armed forces. Social policy must reflect the will and interests of the laboring people (both material and spiritual). Stabilizing and raising the standard of living of the laborer are the objective of the production process, the prerequisite to the production process and the basic factor in the production process. If there is not full concern for the material and spiritual interests of the laborer, the development of production will be impeded and the forces that stimulate higher productivity, higher quality and higher efficiency in labor will disappear.

Secondly, implementing and building upon the right of collective ownership of the laboring people in the economic field primarily means putting into practice the right of every able-bodied person to have a job. Having a job not only means being able to support oneself, but also is the prerequisite to each laborer becoming the genuine master of the new society. It is not only the way to enhance the dignity of the laborer, but is also the factor of decisive significance in completely ridding ourselves of the negative phenomena in society today. It is not only the goal of socialism, but also the basic motivating force in the successful construction of the new society. In the years ahead, intensifying the development of agriculture, the consumer goods industry, small industry and the handicraft trades, with agriculture being considered the front of foremost importance, and giving attention to the scale and rate at which labor is exported by sending labor to work overseas, doing work under contract for foreign countries, expanding our services for foreign guests and so forth should be considered important directions to be taken in providing jobs to laborers.

Thirdly, gradually establishing the new, socialist way of life, especially among youths and teenagers, is a major element of social policy in the current stage. We must remove negative phenomena, vestiges of the old society, from social life, overcome the consequences of the war, of colonialism, both old and new, correct the new negative phenomena arising in the process of social development, including the deterioration in the way of life and ethics of one element of society, the decline in confidence, etc.

Fourthly, the population and family planning problem must be resolved well. This is a very difficult but extremely important socio-economic issue, is a factor that profoundly affects efforts to achieve the goals of socio-economic strategy in many ways.

FOOTNOTES

* See: TAP CHI CONG SAN, No 1-1986.

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1978, Volume 45, p 431.

2, "Van kien Dai hoi V"[Proceedings of the 5th Congress], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1982, Volume I, p 51.

3. The system of forecasts employed in prospects planning consists, at the very least, of the following types of forecasts: natural resources; social; population; scientific-technical advances; foreign politics; political-military affairs; and economic forecasts. Through the study of these forecasts, the development goals and political-economic concepts of the plan are selected.

4. The Resolution of the 4th Congress, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 33.

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COMBINING SECURITY WITH NATIONAL DEFENSE IN THE TASK OF DEFENDING THE SOCIALIST FATHERLAND

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 75-79

[Article by Le Quang Thanh]

[Text] Through 40 years of struggle waged against the background of our country's specific circumstances, in time of war as well as peace time, our party has become ever more deeply aware of the existence of the following law: external and internal enemies are always collaborating with one another to sabotage our country's revolution. There is a close relationship between security and national defense and this relationship must continue to be properly maintained so that we can complete the tasks of defending the fatherland and building socialism. As we know, the intelligence and spy activities of the imperialists and international reactionaries always support their strategy for committing aggression against and annexing our country. However, it would be simplistic to assert that their spy operations are only designed to support efforts to start a war of aggression. The intelligence and spy operations of the enemy not only open the way for a war of aggression and are not only intensified in the course of such a war, but are accelerated even more after they have been defeated in this war. According to this law, external enemies are always looking for ways to link up with domestic reactionary forces, which include the exploiting classes that have been toppled but still seek to re-establish themselves and other reactionaries who are very intent on opposing and attacking the revolution, with the aim of increasing their strength and creating difficulties for us, both externally and internally. Therefore, the task of defending the fatherland consists of two inseparable elements: strengthening the national defense system and maintaining security or, as we say, consists of fighting both domestic and foreign enemies. These two elements can assume different positions of relative importance during each specific period. In peace time, maintaining political security and social order are of foremost importance. In war, military activities assume foremost importance while the objectives of security work are to combat spies and reactionaries, maintain security in the rear and capably assist the army in fighting the enemy. President Ho Chi Minh pointed out this matter in the nature of a law back in the 1950's:

"There are times of war and times of peace. In war time, the army fights the enemy, in peace time, it trains. But public security forces must fight the enemy constantly. They are busy in time of war and even busier in peace time. As long as imperialism exists, as long as exploiting classes remain, there will be saboteurs."(1)

Applying this thinking of Uncle Ho in the present situation of our country's revolution, a situation in which we are at peace but must contend with the border war of encroachment and occupation and the wide-ranging war of sabotage being waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionary powers while preparing to deal with a large-scale war of aggression should one be launched by the enemy, our party has pointed out: "Both security work and military work entail tasks that are very important in defending the fatherland."

As regards our country, the strategic guidelines of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, who are acting in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists, are to invade and annex our country. They have been making every effort to assemble reactionary forces outside the country, massing troops against us from many different directions, infiltrating our country, infiltrating our organizations and taking advantage of negative phenomena in socio-economic life and weaknesses and laxity on our part in economic, social and ideological management in order to intensify their intelligence and spy operations, link up with counter-revolutionaries within our country and await an opportunity to carry out their plan for "internal uprisings combined with attacks from without," for creating, disorder fomenting insurrection and toppling us from within. In the current situation, in view of the fact that the struggle between the two paths and the struggle between ourselves and the enemy are very complicated and bitter struggles and are, in addition, intertwined, the task of defending the fatherland not only involves strengthening the national defense system, strengthening the country's defenses and resisting military aggression from the outside, but also includes one very important aspect: maintaining security. Today, security is not only political security, but also economic security and security from the standpoint of society.

Therefore, national defense and security are even more closely combined as one in the task of defending the socialist fatherland. Closely combining security with national defense, national defense with security has become a matter of extremely important strategic significance.

The basic objectives in combining security with national defense are to successfully carry out the strategic task of staunchly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland while insuring that the strategic task of successfully building socialism is also completed. Therefore, when examining and establishing this relationship in the task of defending the fatherland, we must also give attention to this relationship in the task of building socialism. Combining maintaining security with strengthening the national defense system clearly has a direct and large influence upon our efforts to build socialism.

Staunchly defending the socialist fatherland means maintaining national security, maintaining the independence, sovereignty and sacred territorial integrity of the fatherland, maintaining socialist social order, maintaining the socialist system and protecting the right to life and creative labor of the people of all ethnic groups in Vietnam. The above objectives are expressed in strategic policies and plans for defending the socialist fatherland during each period that are closely tied to the specific strategic situation. Therefore, the objectives and specifics involved in combining security with national defense vary in each of these situations. While we must always observe the principle of closely combining security with national defense, we must apply this principle in a way that is consistent with each situation. Even within one specific situation, the way that security is combined with national defense differs from one area to another, from one field to another.

The current situation demands unity and close coordination between our security strategy and national defense strategy, which includes combining our strategy in the struggle to maintain national security and social order with our strategy in a people's war to defend the socialist fatherland; combining security strategy with military strategy; combining the methods employed in the struggle to maintain security and order with the methods employed in the war to defend the socialist fatherland; combining our security deployment with the national defense deployment of all the people in peace time and employing a combined strength in war; combining the mobilization and utilization of all factors and forces in the performance of security tasks, national defense tasks and so forth. All these types of combining security with national defense must be solidly based on our revolutionary strategy in each specific stage and must, of course, be closely combined with economic strategy, cultural strategy, social strategy and so forth. The combining of security and national defense takes place in two basic situations:

In the situation of defending the socialist fatherland when a large-scale war has not broken out: the overriding objectives in combining security with national defense in this situation are insuring that the country is always in a stable, solid position from the standpoint of security and social order, protecting our right to be the masters and thwarting the schemes of the enemy to unleash a large-scale war against our country. Specifically, we must maintain national security and social order and firmly maintain the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the fatherland; intensify our efforts against enemy spies, promptly combat enemy sabotage and uncover and take steps to thwart the attempts by the enemy to launch a large-scale war of aggression; insure that socialist construction and the strengthening of the national defense system develop amidst a situation in which the country is increasingly stable. On the other hand, all the necessary preparations must be made well and in a planned manner so that when a large-scale war does break out we can quickly mobilize and utilize each factor, especially those that relate to security and social order, and achieve a superior position from which to win victory over the enemy. Security and national defense must be combined in the general plan for the defense of the country and the building of the country's strategic lines, of the defense lines within each area, which includes closely combining security defense lines with military defense lines.

In the situation of defending the socialist fatherland when a large-scale war has broken out: the basic objectives in combining security with national defense in this situation is to maintain war time security and social order, firmly protect our right to be the masters of the country and make every effort to reduce the scope and length of the war while being prepared to deal with the enemy widening and prolonging the war. Specifically, we must combine the rear area and the frontlines as one, must maintain the rear area while increasing the strength of the frontlines. We must closely combine the various modes of strategic warfare of the people's war with suppressing counter-revolutionaries, crushing attempts by the overthrown exploiting classes to re=establish themselves and punishing the enemy for their acts of sabotage in the rear area and within our organization in all fields. We must strengthen war time law and discipline, provide good security for economic bases and national defense facilities, maintain social order and insure the safety of the people. We must prepare each security and military factor well and make good preparations in the other related fields for when the war concludes. We must also maintain security and social order when dealing with the aftermath of the war and must quickly stabilize the country. The combining of security with national defense, national defense with security, is very broad in scope because each of these fields is the combination of many different jobs and many aspects of social life. The forms and mechanisms by which security is combined with national defense, national defense with security, are also broad in scope and diverse. However, viewed from the perspective of objectives, tasks and fundamentals, combining security with national defense consists mainly of the following: combining forces to protect the internal organization of the army, protect national defense material and technical potentials, stop, expose and harshly punish enemy agents who have infiltrated the armed forces and purify the armed forces starting with military inductions, the selection of officers and the training of cadres; combining the activities involved in maintaining security within the army with the maintenance of political security and social order and safety; combining the maintenance of security with the fight against violations of socialist property within the army...

The history of our country provides many very valuable lessons: the prosperous Le, Ly and Tran Dynasties were strict when it came to keeping national secrets and maintaining internal army security. This was an important contributing factor in the staunch defense of national sovereignty and national independence and the recording of very glorious feats of arms in our forefathers' history of resisting foreign aggression. The Military Manual stated: "The work of one person should not be divulged to another person. Tomorrow's work should not be divulged today. Matters must be carefully thought out and nothing must be left to chance. Be on guard against divulging work-related secrets in your speech, be on guard against divulging in your expression secrets contained in your speech. Be on guard against revealing in your spirit secrets held in your expression. Be on guard against divulging in your dreams secrets held in your spirit. Do not reveal the headquarters in charge of your work; do not talk about things in use."(2) The Military Manual also stated that not only education, but also compulsion, discipline and clear orders are required to maintain strict internal security, strictly uphold army regulations and prohibit all relationships not based in principle with the enemy, with undesirable elements. Today, our country's new criminal code establishes 28 crimes against national security, included among which are especially dangerous crimes for which the maximum criminal penalty must be paid. At the same time, it defines the crimes against public order and crimes against the obligation and responsibility of military personnel with the aim of making an important contribution in strengthening the national defense system and maintaining security.

Security must be combined with national defense through many different forms of activity and measures, not only in the field of security and national defense work, but in all other fields as well, such as propaganda, ideological education, the economy, culture and society.

In localities that have the task of directly fighting the enemy's war of encroachment and occupation, such as localities along the border, and in zones of strategic political, economic or military importance in which the enemy can concentrate forces for the purpose of committing sabotage, efforts to combine security with national defense, national defense with security, must have specific objectives and be carried out in accordance with a plan, carried out on the basis of a clear division of labor and by means of measures that are compatible with the specific situation in each area. For example, in areas along the border that must fight enemy encroachment and occupation, efforts to combine security with national defense, national defense with security, must meet such specific objectives as purifying the area; stopping and crushing reactionary organizations plotting to foment rebellion; strengthening the local organizations of the party, the administration, the military and public security forces; promptly uncovering and punishing enemy spies, intelligence agents and commandoes; thoroughly protecting military secrets, the military-technical bases of the armed forces, etc. Here, more than anywhere else, combining security with national defense demands even greater use of the strength of the entire proletarian dictatorship system, of the combined strength of the district military fortresses and provincial strategic units. The army and people's public security forces must coordinate very closely in order to serve as the nucleus in the activities conducted to maintain security and fight encroachment, occupation and sabotage by the enemy.

In each period of the revolution, our party has set a correct and creative line on the struggle to maintain security and social order and a correct and creative military line. It has also successfully solved problems concerning the art of leading the revolution, the art of guiding a war and military art. These lines and arts constitute a single entity and are the political and ideological base that underlie efforts to closely combine security with national defense. At the same time, they mobilize and bring together all factors and forces, tap the extraordinary energies and creativity of the people and create an enormous strength that guarantees victory in military work and security work.

Success in combining security with national defense can only be the result of mobilizing a combined strength, not merely the result of military strength or the strength of security forces. This strength is the strength of combining all forms of political, economic, cultural and ideological struggle in the performance of security and national defense tasks. It would be a mistake to maintain that the only responsibility in military work is to combat the war of encroachment and occupation and a large-scale war and that the only responsibility in security work is to combat the wide-ranging war of sabotage. Because, we know that the enemy's border war of encroachment and occupation, although an unusual mode of war, is being coordinated with their silent, wide-ranging war of sabotage against our entire country with a view toward achieving their objective of weakening and eventually annexing our country. Therefore, closely combining security with national defense and the struggle against enemy sabotage with the struggle against the war of encroachment and occupation has become the task of the entire country, of the entire party, the entire army and all the people. However, this task can be performed in a different way within each locality, within each sector and at each point in time. The armed forces and people of the six northern border provinces, of the frontline districts must closely combine these two efforts in their daily activities. Party committees must provide concerted, unified and comprehensive leadership. The people's committees must guide the various sectors and forces and all the people in the successful implementation of plans for combining security with national defense. Public security forces and local military forces must work closely together and be the nucleus of the people in the struggle against the enemy's war of sabotage and war of encroachment and occupation. The provinces in the rear must combine security with national defense by making every effort to step up production, strengthening national defense forces, maintaining security and social order and defeating the enemy's wide-ranging war of sabotage while being ready to fight well within the province and doing everything they can to fulfill their obligation to the border provinces.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Chu tich Ho Chi Minh Voi nganh cong an nhan dan Viet nam"[President Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnam People's Public Security Sector], the Institute of Public Security Science, published by the Ministry of Interior, Hanoi, 1980, p 19.

2. "Binh thu yeu luoc"[The Military Manual], Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 68.

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PLANNING RURAL CONSTRUCTION WITHIN THE DISTRICT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 80-84

[Article by Dam Trung Phuong]

[Text] Building the new, socialist countryside, in general, and building the district, in particular--both economically and socially--are a central element of the party's line, one that has drawn the participation of practically all sectors and levels and large numbers of the people.

At a conference on rural construction, Council of Ministers Chairman Pham Van Dong said: "Developing agriculture, building cooperatives and building the new, socialist countryside are a matter of utmost importance in laying a solid foundation for building the material and technical bases of socialism, building the socialist economy, building the socialist culture, establishing the socialist way of life throughout the country..."(1)

In order to perform this work well, we have made the district the focus of activities. Today, the position and functions of the district have changed. It is not only an administrative unit, but also a socio-economic unit, a unit that has its own plan and budget, a base for redistributing labor, for reorganizing production and life... The replanning of production, the distribution of labor and the establishment of an agro-industrial structure within the district demands that we plan the construction of the systems of material-technical bases and population centers in the countryside.

In designing and planning the new, socialist countryside, thought must first be given to reconstructing fields and building the systems of material-technical bases in order to stimulate the development of production. These systems are: the irrigation system, the system of bridges, the network of field roads, windbreaks and so forth. They also include drying yards, storehouses and technical stations and farms organized as economic-technical clusters that are mechanized, are compatible with the level of development of production forces and management standards and are closely tied to the level and form of development of social organizations at each point in time.

Arising among the various strata of working farmers are new demands concerning housing, cultural life, social intercourse, changes in lifestyle and the application of scientific and technical advances. To satisfy these demands, we must replan the infrastructure of society.

The old countryside, in which the only public projects were the village communal house, the ancestral temple, the Big house, the Canton market, the district market and so forth, must be augmented by a system of new public projects of a socialist nature, such as child care centers, kindergartens, level I, II and III general schools, medical aid stations, maternity clinics, cultural halls, department stores, athletic fields, swimming pools and so forth. Biogas tanks and small hydroelectric power stations must also be built in order to bring lighting to the countryside and supply energy for agricultural production. The dead-end roads that lead to hamlets, to the compounds of clans or families, mountain village trails and larger paths leading to village communal houses must be widened or replaced and bridges must be built along them in order to accommodate such mechanized vehicles as motorized plows, tractors, rice threshing machines, combines and all types of motor vehicles. These roads must be connected to the network of bicycle paths to enable convenient travel by the people.

Designing and organizing the construction of the host of projects described above, from economic-technical clusters, from the systems of roads, irrigation ditches and canals and then hospitals, schools, child care centers, markets and so forth to the house and garden of each farm household--projects which entail a series of integrated and coordinated jobs and should be viewed as the cells of a single body--not only have the aim of meeting purely economic targets, but also meeting political, social, ideological and cultural goals. The balanced, warm, simple and pastoral appearance of the new countryside will make a considerable contribution to enhancing the feelings of the citizen for his or her village, birthplace and country. Whether or not the cultural and spiritual lives of the farmer are improved depends, to some extent, on how we plan the construction of public welfare projects, economic-technical clusters and the road system, on the layout of the farmer's home and garden.

Generally speaking, the socio-economic factors, ideological factors and aesthetic factors involved in building the countryside are closely related to and have an impact upon one another. The construction profession, if it is to fulfill its mission, can join together with the other specialized sectors in building the district, thereby making the economic and cultural lines of the party a beautiful reality in our vast rural areas.

The general order in which construction in the countryside must be carried out iith the other specialized sectors in
building the district, thereby making the economic and cultural lin3s of the party a beautiful reality in our vast rural areas.

The general order in which construction in the countryside must be carried out is to begin by conducting basic investigations and formulating socio-economic development planning and plans followed by designing housing and natural surroundings and, lastly, guiding efforts to turn designs into real projects. In this process of construction, the architect must approach his work with the view of achieving economy of design, economy in the use of land and building materials, convenience of use and aesthetic appeal.

Generally speaking, the construction sector has, in recent years, taken the right direction in rural construction, specifically in building the districts, and has begun to achieve good results.

We have planned and built many key districts, from Dong Hung, Tho Xuan, Quynh Luu, Nam Ninh and so forth during the initial phase to the seven current pilot project districts established by the central level. This has entailed a large amount of detailed work, work that has been closely re-examined many times. This has been followed by planning the organization of the territory of the district. This is very important work because it defines the construction items in which investments must be made and establishes the measures for achieving the socio-economic goals of the district. In particular, we have carried out specific construction planning, that is, the rebuilding and development of rural population centers in a manner consistent with the new production relations, with the direction of socio-economic development of the new hamlet and village, with the need to organize the environment for the new working farmer.

Under the policy on developing the garden economy and subsidiary production on the plots of households, we are designing and planning the construction of models based on the VAC formula [truck farming, pisciculture and animal husbandry] so that each household plot becomes a developed unit of the village socio-economic system, a unit whose ecological cycle is in balance with changes in the residential ecosystem and within the framework of the surrounding natural ecosystem.

At present, applied research in the introduction of industrial crops of export value, such as tea, coffee, fruit crops, pepper, pimento and high grade vegetables, tobacco and raw material crops for the handicraft trades in household gardens at such places as Dac Lac, Gia Lai-Kontum, Lam Dong, the Mekong Delta, Song Be and Tien Giang, in the outskirts of cities, along the seacoast, in the mountains and so forth, is producing results deserving of attention. Very encouraging models have emerged of the policies on combining agriculture and forestry, on introducing forest crops in areas near villages and cities to meet household and housing construction lumber needs and supply firewood to the people and on the companion cropping of grain and subsidiary food crops at places that previously only practiced afforestation.

In addition, our design of the household plot of a farm family as an ecological unit has been highly evaluated and won prizes at international competitions. This plot plan represents a good approach to take in the development of lowland hamlets and villages. Guidelines for developing the household plots of our farm families must also be researched and widely applied in the barren hills of the midlands that need to be covered with a rational mix of vegetation to prevent them from becoming desert; in the hamlets and villages along the canals and ditches in the key rice growing region of Mekong Delta, where travel is mainly by boat; in the coastal areas where forests are being planted to protect against wind-blown sand and improve farmland; and in border areas that must carry out production while fighting the enemy.

We have begun to record a number of noteworthy results in this area. The planning and design of "floating villages" have solved the problem of how to build villages in areas of Dong Thap Muoi that are regularly flooded by using pre-cast building materials and assembling them on pontoons with modular dimensions, thereby making it possible to organize villages and hamlets that are mobile, that can be moved and easily resolving the problems associated with technical equipment, electricity, water and organizing raft pisciculture. The design employed here is simple and can be industrialized. Ways are being sought to apply this plan to the fishing villages and lowlying areas of the Mekong Delta, to raft pisciculture villages in An Giang, Tien Giang, Minh Hai, Dong Thap and Kien Giang and at a number of areas in central Vietnam. This design has been augmented and refined for application in organizing moveable classrooms and mobile department stores on boats and small repair stations on motorized barges. As a result, it has become very much simpler and more convenient to meet the service needs of the people of the Mekong Delta provinces.

Designing housing models for the countryside is an urgent problem, one that must be resolved quickly.

In the countryside, farmers must obtain their own building materials and build their own houses. In the countryside, houses not only serve the function of providing shelter, but also give the farmer a place to organize subsidiary production, to celebrate death anniversaries, hold funerals and so forth. Moreover, the layout of a house must not only make for convenient everyday living, but must also be compatible with habits, traditions and special characteristics which change when the mode of production changes and the cultural standards and standards of civilization of the new working farmer are raised.

Recently, some architects have attached importance to preserving and developing ethnic heritage by utilizing the folk experience that has been applied to different geographical and ethnic areas and applying it in a way well suited to the habits and capabilities of the people. They have focused their efforts on studying ways to improve the floor houses of the Thai, Tay, Nung and Muong ethnic groups, the houses of the ethnic groups of the Central Highlands, the unbaked dirt houses of the midlands, the wood frame houses of the Red River Delta, the floating houses of the Mekong Delta, the "Palace" style houses of Hue and the houses in the area of Nghe Tinh where the winds are hot and dry.

In recent years, we have also researched designs to facilitate three generations living together in one house. This is a phenomenon that will continue to be widespread in our country. It is a complex social issue that must be addressed and satisfactorily resolved in the construction of rural housing today, especially in the Central Highlands and the mountains.

Throughout the process of performing the jobs described above, positive contributions have been made by many generations of architects, from senior architects to their successors of today. However, all these contributions, everything that we have succeeded in achieving should only be considered the first step. The question we face is what must the specialists and managers of the construction sector do to develop more strongly and effectively upon the basic advantages created by the superior organization of socialism in order to excellently complete the task of planning and constructing the new countryside.

In the immediate future, we must solve the following problems:

First, there is the problem concerning the mechanism through which construction work is performed. At present, it is a rather widespread practice for each agency to perform the construction work that relates to its specialized field and each locality to build projects in accordance with its own needs. This has given rise to working at cross purposes and has sometimes caused agencies and localities to impede one another, thus limiting the results achieved. Construction planning is work that demands ties among many sectors: politics, economics, science-technology, culture and art. Therefore, to manage construction well with the aim of stimulating the development of production forces, there must be centralization or, in other words, must be close cooperation among those who are engaged in construction planning, those who are engaged in the planning of the specialized sectors and the organizations of the local administration.

Recently, at scientific symposiums organized by the State Capital Construction Commission in coordination with the Ministry of National Defense, many practical and useful opinions were exchanged with the aim of building the districts into military fortresses and combining economic development with meeting national defense needs.

Scientific symposiums of the economic-technical sectors, such as the Central Economic Zoning Commission, the State Capital Construction Commission, the Ministry of Building, the Ministry of Communications, the Ministry of Water Conservancy, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Forestry..., are looking for ways to develop combined district models for areas that have special features and population center models for state farms that specialize in industrial crops, for new economic zones and for ethnic areas. These symposiums have begun to set uniform guidelines. In practice, however, the good models of population centers within the district must still be more carefully studied so that they can be augmented and refined. Architects and engineers, although they have made many efforts, have only made proposals concerning specific aspects of construction and have failed to meet the important requirement of developing models that are befitting the new position, befitting the combined function of the district. They have not combined or balanced efforts to promptly meet immediate requirements with strategic guidelines for rural development in the future.

Secondly, a rather large number of planning models and housing designs are still highly theoretical in nature and reflect little by way of the special characteristics of each locality. Many architects, because they have little practical experience and do not have a full grasp of basic scientific and social factors, have introduced the lowland style of housing in the mountains, the urban style of housing in the countryside and the housing style of one ethnic group in the area of another.

Thirdly, there is still a large shortage of cadres for rural capital construction. Training facilities have not given appropriate attention to training architects and the other types of cadres needed to support district construction needs.

Fourthly, there is the problem of managing and guiding the use of building materials. In the countryside, there is still the belief that a house that is sturdy must be constructed of bricks and tiles, even though we know that bricks and tiles cannot be easily produced everywhere. The excavation of clay generally results in the destruction of farmland and the fuel needed to bake bricks and tiles is becoming increasingly scarce. Recently, a non-traditional building trend has emerged: replacing tile roofs with concrete roofs or precast panels. This style of house consumes a rather large quantity of cement, iron and steel, all of which are valuable, scarce building materials, of which there is not a sufficient supply for key construction projects of the state. In the meantime, if the institutes on the central level, the provincial construction services and the district construction offices were to combine their efforts in the research and development of available building materials that are well suited to the special characteristics of each area and were to guide the use of these materials well, very many building materials could be saved. We have more than a few local building materials, such as cinder bricks, Quang Ninh and Ninh Binh building stone, sand bricks, concrete from the soil in the Red River Delta, Phu Khanh and Lam Dong split stone, Nipa frutucans leaves in the Mekong Delta... At the same time, the state must adopt a specific policy for each area concerning the supply and management of building materials.

From the matters presented above we see that only by closely combining the construction sector with the other sectors and the various localities, plus the efforts of the management as well as specialized cadres of the sector, a correct mechanism and an appropriate policy, can we help builders contribute their capabilities and potentials to work that is of strategic importance to the country--building a new, Vietnamese socialist countryside.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Speech by Council of Ministers Chairman Pham Van Dong at the Urban and Rural Construction Scientific Conference Held in September 1980," Journal of Planning (the Institute of Urban and Rural Construction Planning, Ministry of Building), No 2-1981, pp 1, 2.

7809
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POPULATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 85-88

[Article by Professor Dang Thu, Ph.D.]

[Text] When planning the construction and development of the country's economy over the long-range in the present age, increasing recognition is being given to the importance and urgency of the population issue.

In fact, it was 25 years ago that our party and state first advocated family planning. However, since then, our country's population has doubled: from 30 million (1960) to 60 million (1985), which equates to an average annual growth rate of 2.8 percent.

Vietnamese women, who once bore an average 6.2 children, now bear an average 4.2 children. It might be 20 to 25 years before the women of our country achieve the average of two children. Thus, according to forecasts, Vietnam's population will be about 80 million in the year 2000 and 105-110 million in 2030 and then cease rising.

In countries with rapidly growing populations, the amount of grain per capita generally rises slowly. In 1939-1940, when our country's population was only 20 million, the average was 285 kilograms of grain per capita per year. Today, it is only about 300 kilograms per capita per year.

In Africa, the average rate of population growth has been higher than the rate at which grain output has risen for the past 20 years. During the past 30 years, as a result of the achievements of the "green revolution," India's grain supply has tripled, but its population has also doubled. As a result, India's average output today is only a little more than 200 kilograms of grain per capita per year.

Meanwhile, in many developed countries, the population has increased by very little. During the past several decades, these countries have solved the food problem. Their average grain output is 1,000 kilograms per capita per year, the majority of which goes to livestock production. The Soviet Union produces an output of 600-900 kilograms of grain per capita (60 kilograms of edible meat per capita per year) but is still working to raise its standard of living.

At present, there is only 1 hectare of cropland for every 10 Vietnamese. Nearly all arable land that can be used to raise grain is in use. It has also been calculated that 1 ton of petroleum and natural gas must be used to produce 1 additional ton of grain. The world forecasts that the population of Vietnam will rise to 150 million in the future and that 1 hectare of farmland will have to support 25 Vietnamese. The food problem in our country is a very difficult problem to resolve. Despite our unique eating habits, it will take several decades, and we might also have to wait for the population to decline, before we achieve a truly full standard of eating.

The conflict between population and grain output was a concern of ancient philosophers: rapid population growth can reduce the standard of living of the broad masses, reduce the production capacity of the laborer and is the source of poverty and social ills.

At the time of the birth of Christ, the population of the world was 250 million. Had world population grown at the rate of only 0.5 percent per year, it would now be 4 trillion, 800 times higher than it actually is. Therefore, over the long-range, the planet cannot even support population growth at the rate of only 0.5 percent per year. Today, many countries advocate a policy of zero population growth.

The most populace country in the world now has a population of 1.06 billion. Fifteen years ago, this country had to begin encouraging couples to have only 1 child. At present, the women of this country are bearing an average 2 children. In the cities, 90 percent of women have had only 1 child. They hope to stop the growth of the population by the end of the 20th century at 1.2 billion. However, the United Nations forecasts that their population will stop growing at 1.4 billion.

India, the second most populace country, currently has a population of 752 million. In 1984, India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said that her country would soon achieve zero population growth. India is encouraging each couple to have only 2 children. The United Nations forecasts that India's population will stop growing at 1.6 billion.

Thus, from the time that a policy of zero population growth is adopted, it takes several generations for zero population growth to actually be achieved.

A large population inevitably means a large labor force. Our country currently has 30 million persons of work age. By the year 2000, we will have 46 million. And, in 2030, when the population will have risen to 105-110 million, our country will have about 70 million persons of work age.

Today, through the efforts of our entire party and all our people, through the application of the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution in production and everyday life and through the assistance provided by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, our rate of economic development is, generally speaking, higher than the rate of population growth, higher than the rate of economic development of the developed countries in the 19th century. However, this rate is slow for our times.

Rapid population growth has retarded economic development. During the period from 1960 to 1970, only one-third of the 122 developing countries that had a population of more than 1 million recorded a rise in their national income per capita. In the rest, national income per capita declined. Over a longer period, from 1950 to 1975, only 33 of 72 developing countries, 35 percent of the population, recorded an increase in their gross national product of 2-4 percent per year. In 25 countries, 48 percent of the population, gross national product increased by only 2 percent or less while population grew at the rate of 2-3 percent per year.

In the developing countries in the 19th Century, the economy grew at an average rate of 3 percent per year and the population at an average rate of 1 percent per year. Had the population back then grown at the rate at which the population of the developing countries is growing today, 3 percent, these countries would have had to either ignore the poor and starving in order to maintain their rate of development or feed their people and watch economic progress be destroyed.

A simple model of economic development is: the product produced by one laborer is the function of the amount of capital invested per laborer. In the late 18th century, in order to make use of the achievements of the first technological revolution (the steam engine), one laborer needed 300 dollars worth of equipment. To make use of the achievements of the second technological revolution (the internal combustion engine, in the second half of the 19th century), one laborer needed 3,000-5,000 dollars worth of equipment. And, to make use of the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution that has been underway since 1950, one laborer needs 30,000 dollars, or 30,000 rubles, worth of equipment.

During the 19th century, the developed countries invested an average of 8 percent of their national income per year in capital formation. Today, they are investing 20-30 percent and sometimes even 40 percent of their national income in capital formation in order to achieve a high rate of economic development. The underdeveloped countries, on the other hand, where population growth is rapid, generally do not produce enough food to feed themselves, carry out little or no capital formation and have no rate of economic development.

The average national income per capita of the richest countries of the world is currently 220 times higher than that of the most underdeveloped countries. The average national income per capita of the 10 most highly developed countries is 40 to 50 times greater than that of the 10 most underdeveloped countries. This gap will steadily widen and the world will become increasingly divided between those countries that have virtually achieved zero population growth and are becoming increasingly wealthy and those countries that are experiencing population growth and wrestling with poverty and backwardness.

From an economic standpoint, an optimum population is that population at which a country can achieve the highest production capacity per capita. The optimum size of a labor force is calculated the same way.

Man is a precious asset, labor is a precious asset. However, at many places, overpopulation sometimes occurs. Karl Marx analyzed overpopulation among the tribes of hunters and gathers as being different from overpopulation in Athens or in Germany, saying that the conditions of a social system are only compatible with a population of a certain size, that the elasticity in the forms of production conditions will determine the size of the population.

For example, in Europe, it was calculated that if two agricultural laborers could work 2 hectares and produce 20 units of marketed products, with the introduction of one horse, that is, one technical advance, one person would be able to work 2 hectares, but the horse would consume a full 7 units of product. The second person, having gone to develop the hills and mountains, would produce 5 units of food. Thus, the standard of living of the two persons would decline because they would only be producing 18 units. If the second person were to die or go into another field of work, the standard of living would rise from 10 to 13 units of product. Thus, a technical advance is only an advance to a population of a certain size. And, the introduction of technical advances in agriculture in a country that is overpopulated, that has little land and a low standard of living only serves to create additional surplus labor.

In many developing countries, as much as 30 percent of work time is unused. In Vietnam, a full 70 percent of work time is unused. At present, we have 20 million agricultural laborers, 70 percent of the country's labor force, working 6 million hectares. Under the policy of "one laborer per hectare cultivated," as much as one-half of this labor will become surplus labor. One standard for determining whether or not surplus labor exists is: if the quantity of products produced does not decline when a number of laborers are removed from a certain field, this labor is surplus labor. Under this standard, every sector of ours, if reorganized and restructured, would currently have surplus labor.

The hope is that, in the process of development, labor can be withdrawn from agriculture and shifted to industrial production. In the United States, agricultural labor has declined from 75 percent of the country's workforce (1880) to 8 percent (1960) and 3 percent today. In India, 72 percent of the labor force worked in agriculture in 1901 and 73 percent in 1961. Today, nearly 70 percent of the labor force still works in agriculture. In many countries, industrial labor is declining, accounting for only 20 to 30 percent of the country's labor force. Industry absorbs technology, not labor. Therefore, countries that have a large population and a large labor force will still have to keep a high percentage of their labor force working in agriculture for many years to come. It will be difficult to reduce Vietnam's percentage of 70 percent of its labor force working in agriculture and the absolute number of persons working in agriculture will continue to increase.

Some developed countries have forecast that, as a result of the introduction of much technology in industry and agriculture, they will only have to use about 10 percent of their labor force in industry and 1 percent in agriculture by the end of this century. Furthermore, back in 1950, Wiener, the father of cybernetics, stated that human labor will not be used at all in work of a repetitive nature in the future.

In a world in which automation and the application of cybernetics are highly developed, a world in which robots are in widespread use, Vietnam's labor force of 46 million in the year 2000 and 70 million in 2030 will exert even stronger pressure upon the country's socio-economic development. Of course, in this labor force, technically skilled and skilled management labor will be precious assets.

From an economic standpoint, it has been calculated that one laborer in France in 1750 produced, in terms of value, 18 tons of wheat (in his lifetime). The standard of eating back then amounted to one-third of minimum physiological need (the minimum physiological need of one person being about 200-220 kilograms of grain per year). By 1911, one laborer was producing, in terms of value, 60 tons of wheat. Preliminary calculations show that a Vietnamese laborer, who currently produces, in terms of economic value, 35 tons of grain, has a standard of eating that only meets two-thirds of minimum physiological need. However, under the new wage policy, the minimum wage is the equivalent of roughly 1.5 tons of grain. Thus, how are we to pay these wages? How are we to carry out capital formation? This is the specific pressure we face.

Socialist society is a beautiful system, is a society that has a comfortable life and high labor productivity but does not have a problem of surplus population or surplus labor. However, time is needed to advance from socialist construction to true socialism. The socialist countries have had to struggle 40 to 60 years to achieve a full life. It will take 80 to 100 years to achieve high labor productivity. This can be seen in the fact that the Soviet Union has 40 percent of its labor force in industry and 20 percent in agriculture while the corresponding figures for the United States are 30 percent and 3 percent.

The laws of population growth of socialist society are balanced between the producing population and the consumer population of society, full employment and a steadily rising standard of living. Our country must struggle for 70 to 100 years, and possibly even longer, to achieve optimum economic figures from the standpoint of population and labor.

In an economic sense, the birth of a baby can be considered the beginning of a period of investment, a period of necessary expenditures on the care and education of the child, after which he or she reaches the stage of being productive and gives something back to the family, to society. Lastly, there is the period of dependency in old age. If we could calculate all these costs and contributions, we could measure the value of the birth of one child.

In the American farm family of the 19th century, they calculated the economic costs of raising a slave child and found that they recovered their capital by the time the child reached the age of 20. In 1975, in the rural areas of the Philippines, it was also found that a family begins earning a profit once it has raised a child to the age of approximately 18. In many other countries, 6 to 8 year old rural children contribute 40 percent as much as adults, 9 to 11 year old children contribute 60 percent as much, 12 to 14 year old children contribute 70 percent as much and 15 to 19 year old children contribute 90 to 100 percent as much, with females of this age group contributing more than 1 adult.

Thus, in a backward economy, parents only work hard raising children for their first 6 or 7 years. By the time they reach 18 or 19, children are producing a profit for the family. In their later years, children support their parents, especially when their parents are old and frail.

In a densely populated country such as ours, the birth of one child is a liability, preventing the birth of one child is an asset.

In a country that has a high birthrate, the benefit derived from avoiding the birth of one child is the equivalent of the national income of one person during the first 5 years and 2.7 times the national income of one person during the 20th to the 25th years from the date that this child would have been born.

The population and labor force of our country far exceed optimum economic levels. Current generations must pay the price for the excessively high birthrate of preceding generations. Perhaps we might have to encourage couples to have only one child and maintain this approach for two generations in the hope of quickly stopping the growth of the population and labor force--which is a pressing goal of our country.

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THE WARS AS A TOPIC IN VIETNAM'S FEATURE FILMS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 89-92

[Article by Hai Ninh, People's Artist]

[Text] As topics, the war of national liberation and the war to defend the fatherland occupy an important position in Vietnam's feature films. If Vietnam's films on the topic of war were arranged in order of the time at which the events depicted in them occurred, the viewer would have a rather clear picture of the great journey filled with hardships, with suffering and losses, with unprecedented sacrifices made by our people in the struggle for independence and freedom. The long string of feature films that have been painstakingly produced during the past 25 years can be compared to a history book on the heroic people and country of Vietnam written in the language of cinematography.

Feature films from "Those Days Along the Lam River," which dealt with the Nghe-Tinh Soviet Movement, to "The August Star," a film on the general uprising in the fall of 1945 that threw off the yoke of French colonialist and Japanese fascist rule and established the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the works on the great war fought by our people to liberate the nation and defend the fatherland in the resistance against the French colonialists, the resistance against the U.S. imperialists and, more recently, the fight against the Beijing expansionists have very clearly provided such a history. Throughout the several decades that our country has continuously fought the biggest aggressor powers of our times, Vietnam's cinematographers have lived this heroic reality, worked as hard as possible, worked creatively, tried to reflect Vietnamese revolutionary heroism and sung the praises of the country, people and cause of Vietnam under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

The images of the men and women of Vietnam portrayed in practically all feature films on the topic of war have exuded patriotism and a tenacious, unyielding spirit in the face of a ruthless enemy; exuded determination to resist aggression, win independence and freedom for their fatherland and secure the right to choose the social system for their nation; exuded the cleverness, bravery, resourcefulness, skill in the art of war, kind-heartedness and loyalty that typify the Vietnamese soul, the Vietnamese character. The impact of these typical images has frequently reached beyond the borders of Vietnam and touches the people of the world, particularly the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are fighting for national liberation. For example, Miss Tu Hau of the film of the same name is very closely identified with the women of countries living under the yoke of colonialism, both old and new. A simple, kind woman and diligent homemaker, her only desire was to live a quiet life in the hamlet in which she was born. But even this small dream was robbed from her by the aggressors. They plundered and burned her home, murdered her beloved father and raped her. She was thus forced to take up arms to defend herself, to liberate herself, to contribute to the common cause of liberation of the nation, of the oppressed. But is such found only in Vietnam?

In many other works, such as "The Kinglet," "The Young Soldier," "We'll Meet Up Here Then" (on the resistance against the French colonialists), "All the Same River," "The Rising Wind," "The 17th Parallel, Night and Day," "The Road to My Mother's Village," "Nguyen Van Troi," "A Wilderness Field," "The Ringing of the Orange Bell," "Punishment," "The Children of Hanoi," "Until October" (on the resistance against the United States), and a number of films on the fight against the Beijing expansionists, such as "Motherland," "The City Within Our Grasp,"...the images of the modern men and women of Vietnam are diverse, rich and very colorful but their hearts all beat in rhythm with the pulse of our times. This can be seen in the image portrayed by Cu Chinh Lan in the film "The Young Soldier." When portrayed in art form, this real-life person became an image symbolizing the determination to resist aggression, a symbol that possessed lyrical and poetic features and bore a truly good and beautiful name: a "soldier of Uncle Ho." Through his resourcefulness and bravery, this soldier of Uncle Ho destroyed an enemy tank with a grenade. Now that we have B-40's and missiles to fight tanks, we view what he did as commonplace. However, nearly one-half century ago, his deed was a victory surpassed by no other, was an event that illuminated a basic view: weapons are very important but the human factor is still the decisive factor in war and, today, small, oppressed nations that are armed only with crude weapons but have adopted a correct revolutionary line and are determined to fight and win can win victory over aggressors who are armed to the teeth with modern weapons and means of war.

The image of the heroic men and women of Vietnam arises not only in hand to hand combat with the enemy, but also at places in the wilderness that were seemingly uninhabited but never severed their ties to the common fight being waged by the entire nation. This is the case with Mr. and Mrs. Ba Do, the main characters in the film "A Wilderness Field." To fulfill their mission as commo-liaison personnel for the revolution, this small family--a husband, wife and small child--concealed themselves within a shelter constructed like a bird's nest in a tree in the middle of the vastness of Dong Thap Muoi and fought with unusual bravery against U.S. helicopters. The character Ba Do in the film "A Wilderness Field" is modern in that even in this apparent wilderness, Vietnamese embody the aspirations and thinking of our times. Theirs was the will to resist aggression. And, these Vietnamese fought not only for themselves, for their nation, but also for progressive mankind. The point made by the filmwriter was not that our enemy only sought to kill a few persons, but that they wanted to destroy the will of an entire nation and that if the imperialists succeeded in doing this in Vietnam, they could do the same thing anywhere else in the world. For this reason, progressive mankind throughout the world considers the victory of the Vietnamese to be a victory of their own.

In recent years, the cinematographers of Vietnam have faced new challenges. To continue discovering new features of value concerning the topic of the wars, they have continuously conducted research and been creative.

The characters portrayed in older feature films on the topic of the wars were generally shown on the battlefield, shown in face to face combat with the enemy. Recently, some filmwriters have expanded their topics and characters to the territory behind enemy lines, to the ranks of the enemy, to the tragedies of those who "sowed the wind." The character Phan Nam, a puppet pilot, in the film "The Ringing of the Orange Bell," acting on orders from the Americans, sprayed the orange herbicide on his birthplace, killing fellow countrymen. In the end, however, he himself died a tragic death from the poison. "The Ringing of the Orange Bell," which was hailed at the 1984 Kac-lo-vy Va-ry [Vietnamese phonetics] Film Festival and was awarded the Li-di-xe [Vietnamese phonetics] Rose Award, was recently shown in the GDR and won high praise as satisfying the aspirations of the people of the world who are today resisting the chemical war and the nuclear war to destroy mankind that the imperialists and neo-fascists are secretly plotting. Another puppet officer, the main character in the film "Punishment," is portrayed in the process of the collapse of his reactionary ideology--the lackey of the American aggressors.

Whereas in past years, the image of the heroic women of Vietnam burst forth in the spirit of struggling face to face with the enemy, as seen in the character Diu in the film "The 17th Parallel, Night and Day," in the character Van in the film "The Rising Win," and in the character Su in the film "The Clod of Dirt," in recent years, the images of Vietnamese women in the rear, women who did not bear arms but who played an important role and contributed to the nation's great victory, have been rather clearly portrayed. They include Miss Duyen in the film "Until October" and Miss Chieu in the film "Quiet Night." These women, these wives of war dead overcame their personal pain and suffering in order to be worthy of the loved ones they lost and truly created a strength equal to that of the persons bearing arms on the frontlines.

Generally speaking, during the past 25 years, Vietnam's feature films on the topic of the wars have produced encouraging results and are a source of pride to us. However, we cannot be satisfied with what we have achieved. Frankly, we have yet to produce one film that is truly befitting the stature of the great war of national liberation and war to defend the fatherland fought by our people, one work befitting our times. Besides achievements, feature films on the topic of the wars have also displayed more than a few shortcomings and weaknesses. This is evident in just the following few recent feature films: "A Quiet Moment in the War" presents an image of a revolutionary officer which is somewhat less than that of a puppet officer. The puppet officer practically dominates the screen, thus making viewers feel that he is still an imposing figure, even though he was a defeated soldier. Moreover, throughout this work, the images of revolutionary soldiers are somewhat vague and submerged. "The Cold Forest" presents an absurd situation, one that is not very convincing to viewers: a troop unit assigned the mission of transporting a corpse from the South to the North is pursued throughout its journey, from the start to the end of the film, by enemy aircraft and commandoes.

The topic of war has a proper place in Vietnam's feature films but developing this topic from the standpoint of the reality of war in Vietnam, the standpoint of our people's resistance against the United States for national salvation, remains work that will still take many years to complete. "Describing well, honestly and eloquently" the extremely brave and brilliant persons and deeds of the great wars for national salvation and national defense fought by our people under the leadership of the party are the very important and glorious tasks of Vietnam's literature and art, in general, and Vietnam's cinematography, in particular, and will continue to be so for many decades to come. This is not only a matter of a spiritual debt that we are obliged to pay to all those persons, the deceased and survivors alike, who recorded the imposing feats of arms that gave us what we have today. This is also not only a matter of teaching future generations and helping to spread to the world, to say through cinematography what the people of the world said during the days of the resistance against the United States for national salvation: "Vietnam is the epic of our times," is "the glory of mankind." This is an immediate requirement of the revolution, that is, to bring the spirit, character, energy, resourcefulness, creativity, optimism...in summary, the Vietnamese revolutionary heroism displayed in the war, into the new stage of the revolution in order to successfully build socialism and staunchly defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

Of course, now that our party and people have made socialist construction their task of utmost importance, we must focus our efforts first on the topic of socialist construction, on the new persons and jobs in socialist construction today. However, this in no way means that we can give light attention to or not trouble ourselves with creating works on the topic of the wars or relax our efforts to strengthen national defense forces and defend the fatherland. Moreover, the issue is always the returns from art, not the topic.

However, there is a certain urgency associated with making films on the subject of the wars. Some persons, some scenes and some materials will not wait forever for us.

Many favorable conditions exist today for making films on the wars. Now that we can look back on the wars from a more distant vantage point, the scope of the topic is broader. The wars can now be viewed from many different perspectives. The issues that were ours, our enemies' and our friends' are now clearer. We are also encouraging new discoveries, new creativity and everyone has had much time to think, investigate and create. However, regardless of the perspective and regardless of how creativity is expressed, the dominant note struck in films on the topic of the wars must still be the unparalleled revolutionary heroism of our people under the leadership of the party. Only this is the truth, only this is art.

The making of films on the topic of the wars not only demands the efforts of cinematography artists--of filmwriters, producers, actors, cameramen and so forth--but also thorough and practical organizational work and planning.

Importance must be attached to developing screen plays before anything else, adopting plans for long-range topics, expanding the close collaboration with writers outside the cinematography sector, opening screenwriter camps and creating for writers every possible favorable condition. Full attention must also be given to avoiding waste and practicing strict frugality so that the quality of each film is commensurate with the amount of money and effort invested in it, because films on the topic of war have traditionally entailed very large costs.

We are awaiting new films on the topic of the great wars of national salvation and national defense of our nation, films of a stature that is truly befitting the revolutionary heroism of our people, films that reflect in art the "epic of our times," the "glory of mankind" that once attracted the entire world in order to help to preserve this "glory" forever, help to pass this "epic" on to future generations.

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FULLY ADHERING TO, CONCRETIZING AND ORGANIZING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LINES OF THE PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 93-96

[Book Review by Xuan Kieu]

[Text] Fully adhering to the basic views set forth in the lines of the party, concretizing these lines and organizing their implementation are the matters of most pressing importance to the organization of the party and each cadre and party member.

The book "Gaining a More Thorough Understanding of the Lines of the Party in the Initial Stage of the Period of Transition," written by General Secretary Le Duan and published by Su That Publishing House, meets the needs and satisfies the desires of many readers concerning these matters.

This work consists of a system of factors that are in the nature of laws in the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production in our country. After deeply analyzing the two strategic tasks of Vietnam's revolution, the general secretary presents the basic elements of the line on the socialist revolution and the line on building our country's economy. He says: "We can only successfully complete the very difficult, historic task of advancing our country from small-scale production directly to socialism by creating a combined force of the socialist revolution"(p 24)(+). When talking about the combined force of the revolution, we are talking about the unity and close relationship among socio-economic forces and factors. The most comprehensive combined force stems from: firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people, simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions, the key one being the scientific-technological revolution, building the new system, the new economy and the new culture and molding the new, socialist man and woman. In the socio-economic field, this combined force is the forces of the three revolutions, of the new system, the new economy, the new culture and the new, socialist man and woman. From the standpoint of the economy, this combined force stems from closely tying industry to agriculture within a structure from the very outset; combining the central economy and the local economy in a way that is balanced; developing production forces and perfecting the new production relations; closely combining the economy with national defense; closely tying the division of labor and the expansion of the domestic market to the development of overseas economic relations, most importantly with the Soviet Union and the socialist community... The line of the party is a complete entity, one in which there is close coordination between objectives and the means and measures for achieving these objectives, between production forces and production relations, between the economic base and the superstructure, between the economy and national defense, etc. And, as the general secretary concludes, "A combined force is created through the simultaneous birth of these factors and the impact they have upon one another." In the wars of resistance against the French colonialists and U.S. imperialists, because we knew how to achieve a combined strength stronger than that of the enemy, we won victory even though our country is small. Today, in the cause of building socialism and defending the fatherland, although our methods of organization and operation are much different than they were during the war, this lesson in achieving a combined strength retains its original worth.

The exercise of collective ownership by the laboring people is both the goal of and the moving force behind the socialist revolution. It is also the most important factor of a combined force. The essence of collective ownership is exceedingly broad in scope: being the masters of society, nature, and oneself and being the masters of politics, the economy, culture and society. Being the masters of the economy means being the masters and making good use of labor, arable land and the other means of production, achieving high productivity, quality and efficiency... In the period of transition to socialism, the right of collective ownership of the laboring people is implemented through the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise ownership, the state manages." Collective ownership develops from a low to an increasingly high level. It is established as soon as the proletarian dictatorship is established. In each stage of the period of transition, the specifics and requirements of collective ownership are consistent with the political, economic, cultural and social conditions of the country. After deeply analyzing this factor, Le Duan concludes: "The right of collective ownership of the laboring people cannot be implemented if we do not carry out socialist industrialization, if we do not advance from small-scale production to socialism"(p 26).

Socialist industrialization is the central task in the period of transition to socialism. This law has been stated by our party thusly: "Giving rational priority to the development of heavy industry on the basis of developing agriculture and light industry and combining the building of industry and agriculture within one structure"(p 29).

To carry out industrialization, we must have capital. To us, our most valuable assets are our labor and the potentials that can be developed in our arable land (including the forests and offshore waters) and our sectors and trades (which include the subsidiary trades in the countryside, small industry, the handicraft trades...). Our strongest motivating force is the system of socialist collective ownership. It permits us to combine our labor with arable land, expand our sectors and trades and quickly produce a large volume of products to meet capital formation needs and constantly improve the standard of living.

To carry out socialist industrialization, we must strongly develop agriculture and light industry. At the same time, full importance must be attached to building a number of projects within the key heavy industrial sectors: electricity, coal, petroleum-natural gas, metals, chemicals, building materials and, in particular, machinery. Because, as V.I. Lenin said, the only material-technical base of socialism is large-scale, mechanized industry.

On the basis of a deep and comprehensive analysis of the above factors, Le Duan concludes: "The two essential elements of our line are collective ownership and socialist industrialization. This can be considered a law"(pp 22-23).

Building the central economy while developing the local economy is an element of the party's economic line, one that reflects the law of advancing directly from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production in our country.

The central economy and the local economy are closely interrelated and both lie within the unified industrial-agricultural economic structure of the country. The central economy, the backbone of the national economy, is of vital importance to the economy of the entire country. The local economy is the prerequisite to supporting the life of the local people and, at the same time, contributes to the building of the central economy.

When discussing the central economy, we are discussing the economic-technical sectors. The development of these sectors has the effects of converting manual labor into mechanized labor, creating new machinery, tools and materials, stimulating specialization, cooperation and federation in production, raising the level of scientific and technical development, raising labor productivity and creating increasing high quality and efficiency. When discussing the local economy, we are discussing the extremely important role it plays in utilizing labor and arable land, expanding the sectors and trades, closely tying agriculture to industry within a structure from the very outset, establishing ties among the various segments of the economy, combining the economy with national defense, etc. After analyzing the position and role of the local economy, the general secretary concludes: "The local economy is the important base that brings together all three levels that exercise collective ownership, brings together the strengths arising from basic units, the strengths emanating from the central level and the strengths arising within the locality itself"(p 32). And, the important base for combining the central economy and the local economy is the district. Because, the district economy is linked to the cooperative's, is part of the economic structure of the province or municipality and is closely tied to the economic-technical sectors of the entire country." And, "it is only through the district that the central level can manage and combine labor with arable land"(pp 32-33).

Planned and balanced development of the national economy is an economic law of socialism. This law controls the entire process of advancing directly from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production in our country. To apply the law of planned and balanced development of the economy in a manner consistent with our country's specific circumstances, "it is absolutely necessary that we establish three planning levels: the national level, the local level and the basic level." We attach very much importance to the national planning level because it is one of the things that makes the socialist system superior. At the same time, we also attach very much importance to the plans of the basic and local levels because they represent the thorough implementation in planning of the system of collective ownership on the three basic levels of our system. Planning must be closely linked to economic accounting and socialist business practices in order to achieve high productivity, quality and efficiency. The production plan must be closely tied to the financial plan in order to apply commodity-money relations and market relations well. In our country, the law of planned and balanced development is being applied "at the very outset of the process of advancing directly from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production because we have established the system of collective ownership and must, therefore, comply with the law of planned and balanced development of the economy"(p 34).

In addition to the factors mentioned above, two other factors that are in the nature of laws, one being the expansion of international cooperation and the other being the development of science-technology and the application of scientific-technical advances, are also deeply analyzed by the general secretary in this work.

Only on the basis of fully adhering to the fundamental views of the party can we concretize and implement the party's lines correctly. General Secretary Le Duan points out: "Concretizing the lines of the party in this initial stage, which began when the entire country embarked on the advance to socialism, is not at all a matter of adopting another line in addition to the general line and the economic line"(p 39). We reject the view that the lines of the party are only correct as they apply to a long period of time, that they are not consistent with the current situation and that we must, as a result, adopt a specific line that differs from the general line. This approach is incorrect and unscientific because, as mentioned above, the line of the party is a unified and whole entity that is implemented in all stages of the process of advancing from small-scale production to large-scale, socialist production in our country. Of importance to each organization of the party, to each cadre and party member is the need to know precisely what concretizing the line entails. Concretizing the economic line, as pointed out by the general secretary, entails mainly the following:

In a manner that is totally consistent with the general line and the economic line, on the basis of these lines and with the aim of implementing these lines:

--It is necessary to formulate a socio-economic strategy for each stage in the period of transition (one which includes objectives and the measures for achieving these objectives);

--It is necessary to formulate a strategy for building, transforming and developing each economic sector, beginning with important sectors that occupy a primary position or play a key role;

--It is necessary to put together a correct socio-economic management system, one which includes the various components and a system of production and business organizations, the planning system, the various leverage policies, economic accounting and business principles, the management apparatus and work regulations.

Once a correct line has been adopted, managing and organizing the implementation of this line assume an exceedingly important role. To a rather large degree, this work decides the fate of the line. How well the implementation of a line of the party is organized depends upon the following factors:

--The revolutionary will to fight, eagerness to move forward, not fearing difficulties or hardships, the sense of organization and discipline and an attitude of strictly complying with the line of the party;

--Successfully establishing the mechanism "the party leads, the people exercise ownership, the state manages" as a system that possesses a large combined strength;

--Establishing a truly revolutionary and scientific set of procedures for preparing, issuing and implementing decisions.

After scientifically analyzing the fundamentals involved in concretizing a line and organizing its implementation, General Secretary Le Duan points out the shortcomings that have been seen in concretizing lines and organizing their implementation in the recent past, such as subjective, impetuous actions as well as conservatism and slowness to take action; a failure to comply with a line of the party correctly or well; ineffective efforts to organize and guide the implementation of a line, etc.

To correct these shortcomings, "it is of utmost importance that we successfully bring about a true change within the party, that we take determined steps to wipe out negative phenomena within the party and make the party pure, solid and strong, make it a party that possesses fighting strength, possesses the ability to provide the leadership needed to complete new tasks and retains the confidence of the people. This is the pressing demand of the revolution today"(p 50).

The book "Gaining a More Thorough Understanding of the Line of the Party in the Initial Stage of the Period of Transition" consists of a system of profound theoretical and practical issues. This work by the general secretary is an important contribution to further raising the understanding of theory and the ability to organize implementation on the part of all cadres and party members.

FOOTNOTES

+ Passages within quotation marks followed by page numbers are excerpts from "Gaining a More Thorough Understanding of the Line of the Party in the Initial Stage of the Period of Transition" by Le Duan.

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IDEOLOGICAL LIFE: AM I DOING BETTER OR WORSE?

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 97-99

[Article by Nguyen Truong Khoa]

[Text] Over the past several years, the habit of looking at things from the perspective of whether one is doing better or worse than someone else has become increasingly widespread among our cadres and party members, including some middle and high-ranking cadres. Persons working in one sector are jealous of those working in another. Persons working in one locality or field feel that they are worse off than persons working in another locality or field.

There are even some provincial party committee members who worry: if I do not transfer to party work and keep working in my specialized field, if I delve into science, I might get a degree like everyone else but wind up having nothing to do(!). Meanwhile, some professors draw the following contrast: the life of a professor is not as good as that of a local party committee member, who has position, authority and many benefits as well. A comrade working in the North says: "If I had asked to be sent to the South back in '75, my life would be better today." But a cadre from the North who has gone to the South thinks differently: If I had remained at my old job, where I had widespread contacts, it would surely have been easier to make progress in my career! When salary grades are determined, a good many comrades are puzzled: why did I receive only this much when X. at the other agency, who has the same background as I, has been given a salary several grades higher?

In like manner, persons in the education sector maintain that persons in the commerce sector are "doing very well." Persons in the commerce sector think that diplomats are "raking it in." Persons in administration think that persons in production "make money easily." Meanwhile, persons in production think that those in administration "never have to go out in the rain or hot sun and always take it real easy." The elderly feel that they are being treated poorly. The young think that they "have talents that are not being properly used." Everyone feels that he is "unlucky," is "unfortunate," that he has gotten less, that others have enjoyed "good luck" and "have everything." This leads them to being dissatisfied or feeling sorry for themselves, to tormenting themselves or complaining about everything which, in turn, lead to negative ways of thinking and acting that are detrimental to the party's common cause.

Persons whose thinking is to compare what they have to others generally are weak in terms of their will to struggle and are not content with their jobs. Feeling that the grass is greener on the other side, they preoccupy themselves with questions about whether they are doing better or worse. They become passive and dissatisfied, see injustice everywhere and do not have confidence in the party, in the new system. They do not fully develop their talents, take no initiative in their jobs and work in a half-hearted manner. Instead of making a contribution being the focus of their attention, their only standard is what they receive, what they possess. Much of their effort is devoted to money-making schemes, so much so that they are prepared to sacrifice even their good points. This is also an important reason behind the loss of internal unity and the decline in the strength of the organization.

From an objective standpoint, the underlying cause of this bad habit is small-scale production. Lenin described the "ethic of the small, private owner as 'I only care about myself.'"(1) And, Lenin considered petty bourgeois lack of constraint, their tendency toward anarchy and the ethic of the private owner to pose the danger of the re-establishment of bourgeois exploitation. Persons whose mentality is that of the private owner make their personal interests the standards by which distribution is evaluated and their labor the unit of measurement. With small-scale production still widespread in our country, it is difficult to carry out distribution and treat everyone in a truly fair and rational manner. On the other hand, the fact that our management of the economy is still lax, which has allowed dishonest merchants to earn a higher income than honest laborers, and the fact that some policies are flawed by shortcomings and clearly irrational in some respects have also given objective cause for this thinking of am I doing better or worse to develop and lead to a situation in which individuals and units are pursuing their own interests and forgetting the common interests of society, of the state.

However, regardless of the circumstances, a deviation from their ethics by cadres and party members--persons whose responsibility it is to be in the vanguard--always stems directly from the level of political awareness of these persons and what he or she has done to forge good ethics.

Many comrades, because their way of thinking is incorrect, view things without objectivity and only see their own difficulties or "bad luck," not the difficulties or hardships of others. They constantly think that others have less to offer than they but are earning more, that they are the only ones who "get the worst of it." Some persons do not see all the features of the period of transition to socialism, during which many different socio-economic phenomena along with the production relations and laws that are unique to these phenomena are intertwined, therefore requiring that we have many different kinds of distribution that are not truly consistent with the principles of socialism. But there are also persons whose minds are set on egalitarianism and do not see the need for distribution in accordance with labor; therefore, they cannot stand to see someone else earning or receiving more than they.

Under our country's current circumstances, distribution and benefits must be based on the consideration of many factors. In particular, distribution is limited even more by the fact that we are advancing from small-scale production directly to socialism and must build the country while strengthening the national defense system and defending the country. The method and level of distribution are dependent partly upon nature and partly upon social policy considerations. Distribution supplies are very low and dependent upon aid from friendly countries to some extent. This situation does not permit us to carry out distribution in a manner that is truly fair and rational. It is as unreasonable for a scientific cadre to be envious of an army cadre because he receives a higher salary as it is for an army cadre to be envious of a scientist because his work is less strenuous.

We must, of course, admit that at many places and in many areas of work, we are not yet carrying out distribution well, implementing benefit policies well or meeting the requirements faced in the life of society in a satisfactory or fair manner. It must also be acknowledged that in the field of distribution today, our efforts are still marked by many shortcomings and we have yet to provide for rational and fair distribution in accordance with the views and policies of our party and state. However, this does not permit cadres and party members to be envious or jealous, to calculate whether they are worse off or better off and then bargain with the party, even give themselves the right to do things that are wrong. Our responsibility is to calmly examine the situation, look for a solution and propose a rational way to solve the problem to the responsible agency.

Finally, making comparisons as to whether one is better off or worse off than someone else is primarily the result of individualism. Because of individualism, some persons make very blatant comparisons to their comrades or the other members of their units. There are also persons who lose their sense of vigilance and begin making comparisons to persons who earn their livings illegally, who steal public property. They then accuse themselves of being "stupid" and express regret over being "too honest"! It is precisely this kind of envy that helps to nurture bad habits and develop negative phenomena.

We cannot demand that each and every member of society lead his or her life in accordance with the standards of communist ethics. Such would be a utopian dream. However, communist party members, the militants in the vanguard of the revolution, absolutely must lead an exemplary life based on the principles of communist ethics. To allow the thinking of comparing one's losses to the gains of others as well as other negative phenomena to persist within the party will paralyze the will to struggle of party members and set bad examples for the masses. Our people have been forged in the long revolutionary struggle and are therefore very alert and clearly know the difference between bad and good. They know whom to trust and respect and in whom they should have less confidence. It can be said that one of the causes of less confidence among the masses in the revolution, in the system is wrongdoing on the part of cadres and party members. Conversely, no educational measure is as strong as good examples and sacrifices by cadres and party members. Now, more than ever before, cadres and party members, most importantly high and middle-ranking cadres, must display an even higher spirit of "honestly serving the people" as President Ho Chi Minh often taught and be willing to accept less so that they can maintain their revolutionary ideals and integrity just as the revolutionary war dead who faced the merciless, barbarous blows of the enemy did.

Communist party members and revolutionary cadres can only make one comparison: the comparison to the enormous sacrifices made by countless war dead and compatriots to the fatherland, to the revolution, which are examples that they must make every effort to learn and follow.

FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin: "Collected Works," Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977, Volume 36, p 249.

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THE PEACE MOVEMENT--A STRATEGIC FORCE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 100-102

[Article by Nhuan Vu, commemorating the "International Year of Peace-1986"]

[Text] The Reagan administration is escalating its efforts into space in order to urgently prepare for nuclear war. In the face of the serious threat to the destiny of all mankind, the people of world are further intensifying their struggle to maintain peace and security in the world. In 1985, in the United States and other Western countries, tens of millions of persons participated in demonstrations and marches against the arms race of the United States, the SDI program of United States, intervention by the United States in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America, etc. Deserving of attention is the fact that on 10 November 1985, in Spain, more than one-half million persons took to the streets in a demonstration demanding the dismantling of U.S. military bases in that country. Only 2 days later, in Greece, demonstrations by tens of thousands of persons broke out, their demand being the same. Thus, on all four flanks of the NATO quadrangle--the northern flank--Great Britain, Denmark, Holland and Belgium, the eastern flank--the Federal Republic of Germany, the western flank--Spain, and the southern flank--Italy and Greece, shouts demanding that the United States "go home" filled the air. Today, the United States no longer brags about the stability and reliability of NATO, rather, it is very concerned about NATO's instability in the face of the wave of anti-American struggle by the people of the countries of western Europe. This wave of struggle is also an event which the ruling circles of the countries of western Europe cannot ignore because this mass movement has, against the background of political parties bitterly competing for votes, been having a profound effect upon the outcome of elections. Today, the peace movement is no longer a phenomenon of crowds gathering in streets, gathering for 1 day and dispersing during the same day, but has become a constant factor of enormous strength in the political life of many countries, including the United States.

If the activities of the world peace movement, regardless of how widespread they might be, were restricted to the framework of speeches, of slogans and banners and had no real force, the leaders of the White House and Pentagon could continue to devote their efforts to plans for war and never worry. However, these activities have resulted in 1,200 cities in the United States, Great Britain, Holland, the Federal Republic of Germany, New Zealand and

Australia declaring their localities to be zones free of nuclear weapons. In Japan, nearly 900 local governments have declared their localities to be zones free of nuclear weapons. This means that many local governments have separated themselves from the blind nuclear policy of their country's central government. The Organization of African Unity has declared that "all of Africa must be a region free of nuclear weapons." All northern European countries long ago voiced the need to establish a nuclear free zone in northern Europe. In particular, the decision by the government of New Zealand, a member of the ANZUS military bloc headed by the United States, to ban U.S. warships carrying nuclear weapons from the ports of this country was a slap in the face of the U.S. imperialists, of the nuclear war policy of the United States and shocked the White House and Pentagon. Then, countries on the rim of the Indian Ocean also demanded that this ocean be brought within the "nuclear free charter." These bright examples are attracting considerable interest among many countries bordering the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Sea, the Red Sea, the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

The scope of the strategic nuclear deployment of the United States is being steadily reduced on land, in the air and at sea. The world peace movement is dealing rather strong blows to the global nuclear strategic deployment of the United States. This is a strategic turn of events that far exceeds previous calculations made by the "electronic brains" at the White House and Pentagon.

The strength of reason and good will for the sake of peace has been given concrete expression in the wholehearted response by world opinion to the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, such as its pledge to not use nuclear weapons first, its pledge to cease nuclear weapons testing, its opposition to the arms race and the militarization of space, its efforts to achieve a balanced reduction of armed forces and its desire for peaceful coexistence between the different systems. The people of the world were further heartened by the statement made on 31 December 1985 by CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev: "1986 has been declared by the United Nations as the year of peace. The Soviet Union will extend this year of peace into a decade of peace so that mankind begins life in the 21st century under peaceful conditions of trust and cooperation."(1)

In view of the realities described above, it can be stated that mankind is witnessing the activities of unprecedented intensity of an exceedingly broad peace front, one that encompasses all organizations and movements of each country and all international organizations and movements, from Europe to Asia, the Americas, Australia and Africa, from the developed countries to the developing countries, from the socialist countries, the pillar of the world peace movement, to the capitalist and imperialist countries, from non-government organizations to governments themselves, to the non-aligned movement. In the capitalist countries, political parties of many different shades, ruling and opposition parties alike, cultural and social organizations representing very diverse ideological leanings, trade union organizations, youth and women's organizations, organizations of intellectuals and artists, professional organizations, religious organizations...all have come together in an invisible groundswell surging in one direction: to safeguard peace and eliminate the threat of a destructive war. These are all the mass forces in the world united, despite the fact that their immediate goals differ, in a single common aspiration, the desire for peace. Mankind's bloody history over many thousands of years has made the word "peace" the most universal, most sacred, most easily understood and most vital word of all, the word that has the greatest power to bring people together because, with peace, mankind has everything, without peace, there is no security, is nothing. It is not surprising that the peace movement has been called the "tempest of our times," the "worldwide alliance of reason and conscience." There can be no doubt that the power of mankind's astute reason will prevail over the blindness and insanity of the imperialist and bellicose powers. Only mankind's astute reason and conscience can guarantee a lasting peace, a bright future for mankind. In fact, along with the democratic movement, the peace movement is becoming an effective offensive force, a strategic force, a powerful revolutionary current on our planet.

Today, the forces of peace have become invincible. However, the powers hostile to peace and security in the world, imperialism and the international reactionaries, still have not changed their nature. What must be given full attention is the fact that the imperialists as well as the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists are also brandishing the banner of peace in order to deceive public opinion, in order to rally forces to support their sinister schemes. Meanwhile, the U.S. imperialists are still steadily pursuing the arms race and the militarization of space in preparation for nuclear war. Therefore, the struggle for peace demands patient, steadfast efforts and constant vigilance. It must be realized that "the most burning issue facing mankind is the issue of war and peace... At present, there is no mission more important or noble than safeguarding and strengthening peace, stopping the aggressor and militarist powers and guaranteeing life for the generations of today and tomorrow. A world without war, without weapons, this is the ideal of socialism."(2) Mankind looks to the future with firm confidence in the comprehensive strength of the forces of revolution and progress in the world, of which the Soviet Union is the pillar and the peace movement is an important element.

The year 1986 has arrived. Surely, in the international year of peace 1986, the people of the world will take new and larger strides forward in the noble cause of safeguarding peace and security throughout the world.

FOOTNOTES

1. See: NHAN DAN Newspaper, 2 Jan 86.

2. "Draft of the 'Platform of the CPSU'(revised version)," supplement to the newsletter "The Soviet Union Today," No 4, November 1985.

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THE SDI PROGRAM AND ITS DANGERS

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese No 2, Feb 86 pp 103-106, 102

[Article by Duy Duc]

[Text] A Shield or a Sword in Space?

The so called "Strategic Defense Initiative," SDI, is the "national policy on the militarization of space" of the United States, a policy that was officially announced by U.S. President Reagan on 23 March 1983. The goal of SDI is to achieve strategic military superiority over the Soviet Union.

To implement the SDI program, the United States will first modernize its defense anti-missile system (DAM), which consists of both space-based and land-based weapons. These are weapons that generate powerful energy beams of many different types, such as fluorine and hydrogen lasers, heavy or neutral elements, nuclear generated and laser guided x-rays, ultra-shortwaves and electronic waves, energy beam cannons, small, automatically controlled missiles deployed on military satellites and land-based anti-missile missiles.

The DAM system of SDI is divided into three layers. The first layer is closest to the opposition and farthest from the United States. This layer will consist of space-based chemical laser ray guns and special particle beam accelerators, the purpose of which will be to destroy the nuclear missiles of the opposition within the space of 2 to 5 minutes after they have been launched and when they are at an altitude of 10 to 150 kilometers. The purpose of the middle layer will be to destroy the nuclear warheads of the opposition that have penetrated the first layer of the DAM system and are continuing toward their target. This layer will consist of electronic beam cannons or small, automatically controlled missiles deployed on satellites. U.S. military experts plan to put a few thousands such satellites into space around the entire planet, each of which will be equipped with 40 to 50 small missiles capable of shooting down targets at altitudes of 500 to 1,200 kilometers. In its final layer, the DAM system will employ medium and short-range ground-based anti-missile missiles to destroy the remaining nuclear warheads at an altitude of 100 to 800 kilometers after they have passed through the first and second layers and are about to strike their targets.

Washington has continuously launched propaganda campaigns for the SDI program in a vain attempt to calm worried public opinion among large numbers of people in the United States and the world and with a view toward securing the support and collaboration of Western allies. The arguments advanced by Washington have been most da vain attempt to calm worried public opinion among large numbers of people in the United States and the world and with a view toward securing the support and collaboration of Western allies. The arguments advanced by Washington have been most deceptive: that SDI is a weapons system designed to "safeguard peace," which is just like Mr. Reagan giving the MX strategic missile, which is armed with 10 nuclear warheads, the name "Peacekeeper"; that SDI is a non-nuclear weapons system that does not threaten humans but only has the purpose of destroying offensive nuclear missiles of the opposition; that SDI will render nuclear weapons "ineffective" and thus hasten disarmament and the end of the arms race and even bring mankind back from the abyss of a destructive nuclear war, etc. However, what is the truth? In essence, SDI is not only a space shield, it is also an offensive weapons system, a sword in space that will hang over the head of everyone living on the planet. The U.S. newspaper INTERNATIONAL NEWS FORUM clearly stated in its 12 March 1985 edition: "According to one enthusiastic supporter of the SDI program, this system, when fully deployed, will be capable of launching from space surprise attacks on ground targets, such as aircraft, oil tankers, nuclear power plants, projects...causing huge fires and damages which, in the space of 30 minutes, can set an industrial nation back to the 18th century."

In addition to the DAM system, the SDI program also consists of space vehicles that transport offensive weapons into and from space. During the past 3 years, the United States has continuously launched space shuttles of many different types: Columbia, Challenger, Discovery and Atlantis. These space shuttles are playing an increasing role as offensive weapon transport vehicles. U.S. President Reagan has also appealed to Western allies to cooperate with the United States in putting a complex in permanent space orbit that will have the effect of serving as a major aggressor base of the United States and NATO.

The weapons system supporting "star wars" is also closely tied to the land-based offensive nuclear weapons of the United States, such as the MX intercontinental missile, the Trident II and, in the not-too-distant future, the Minuteman missile, the Pershing II and Cruise medium range missiles, heavy, long-range bombers armed with nuclear weapons... These are the nuclear weapons designed to "deliver a pre-emptive strike" against the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact. On 28 August 1985, in his interview with TIME Magazine, M.S. Gorbachev, secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, stated: "The interrelationship between defensive and offensive arms is so obvious as to require no proof." Moreover, given the current level of development of science and technology, it is very difficult to clearly distinguish between an offensive weapon and a defensive weapon. With the SDI program, the United States is quite sure of having within its grasp a space security belt capable of delivering a "pre-emptive nuclear strike" against the opposition under the "theory of a limited nuclear war" without fear of a retaliatory strike by the opposition.

Thus, once the SDI program of the United States with its large system of extremely complex offensive weapons of all types is deployed, the international atmosphere will be further poisoned and made more tense, the threat of nuclear war will mount and the common security of mankind will be more seriously threatened than ever before.

Sinister Motives and Objectives

Anti-communist in their thinking to the point of being sick, Reagan as well as the bellicose circles within the United States always consider arms to be the foundation, the strength that will enable them to "eliminate" the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

Under the Reagan administration, the United States has thrown itself into the arms race on a scale unprecedented. The annual military budget of the United States has constantly grown and reached new record levels. During his 5 years in office, with a military budget of slightly less than 1.2 trillion dollars, Reagan has accelerated the modernization of the strategic weapons triad: the MX intercontinental missile, which carries 10 nuclear warheads, each of which has 600 kilotons of explosive power; the Trident nuclear submarine, with 14 offensive warheads; and the B-1-B heavy bomber, which has a capacity of 30 tons of bombs. Reagan also pushed through the plan to deploy 572 new medium range nuclear missiles in western Europe... All these steps have been taken to disrupt the balance of strategic military forces and give the United States overwhelming superiority over the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact. However, the opposition of the United States has not stood idly by and watched! The Soviet Union and the socialist community have stated that they will not permit the United States to achieve military superiority in any situation. Appropriate retaliatory measures have been taken. As a result, the balance of strategic military forces between the two sides has been maintained, peace and security in the world have been maintained.

Despite defeat, the anti-communist high blood pressure does not subside in a person who has a long anti-Soviet history, such as Reagan. Therefore, they initiated the SDI program. White House leaders think that space can be a "perfect position," be the key opening the way for the United States to achieve military superiority in a way that is "indisputable." In carrying out the SDI program, the United States harbors the illusion that it can use this space shield to create a "pre-emptive nuclear strike" capability against the Soviet Union without worrying about being dealt punishing blows by the opposition. This will provide the "ideal" military and strategic superiority about which the White House and the superhawks of the Pentagon have long dreamed!

Although it clearly understands that the Soviet Union will not be caught napping and will surely take appropriate corresponding measures, the Reagan administration still has no intention of abandoning the "Strategic Defense Initiative"! Why is this? Reagan and the radical anti-communist powers of the United States harbor the illusion that once the United States carries out the SDI program, the Soviet Union will be forced to spend very large sums of money on the arms race in space, will become "exhausted" and have to yield to U.S. pressure. Like an ostrich with its head in the sand, they do not realize that the first and most powerful socialist country in the world possesses very large material reserves and potentials. Since the great October Revolution, there have been countless schemes to cripple the Soviet economy but all these plans have met with tragic defeat. They were not successful in the past and have even less chance of being successful under present conditions.

By obstinately insisting on SDI, the Reagan administration also seeks to draw Western allies of the United States into the sphere of the United States under the signboards of "sharing" space technology, the defense community and so forth, the actual purpose of which is to tightly tie these "friends" to Washington's adventurous military policy. Therefore, it is easy to understand why some developed countries in western Europe have expressed concerns about and opposition to the SDI program. These countries know only too well that one no less important objective of the masterminds behind the SDI is to make the security of western Europe more dependent upon the space shield of the United States and use the natural resources of western Europe to serve the global strategy of the United States, thereby consolidating the shaky position of the United States as economic and military leader of the "free world" as well as its position from the standpoint of tightly controlling all scientific-technical exchanges and research of its allies.

Another motive behind the Reagan administration's insistence on the SDI program is the huge profits of the U.S. military-industrial complex. These octopuses live on the arms race. They supported Reagan's bid for the presidency so that he would "repay" them with lucrative weapons contracts. By the year 2000, Reagan's SDI program will produce for the U.S. military-industrial complex profits unprecedented in American history, some 250 billion dollars. Of course, this makes the military-industrial complex and its representatives within the U.S. shake the most with fear over proposals by the Soviet Union on ending the arms race on earth, preventing an arms race in space and eventually reducing and destroying nuclear weapons.

It Is Necessary To Prevent an Arms Race in Space

The SDI program very clearly reveals the reactionary and extremely bellicose nature of the U.S. imperialists. Very cunningly, the Reagan administration has been trying to create the impression that they are only in the initial stage, in the "research" stage. However, it is inconceivable that 70 billion dollars are to be spent on "research" alone. This is more than four times the cost of the Manhattan Project--the U.S. program for the development of nuclear weapons--and more than double the cost of the Apollo program that provided for the development of space travel for a whole decade--up to the landing of man on the moon. Other facts, including tests scheduled by the U.S. for space strike weapons systems, show that this is far from being a pure research program under SDI.

If the SDI program is implemented, even in its so called "research" stage, it would still be extremely dangerous. It will place all mankind, including the people of the United States, in great danger. It will wip up a new round in the arms race, one that will be impossible to control from any perspective and will surely bring the danger of nuclear war closer than ever before. Everyone knows that the existing number of nuclear weapons of the two sides far surpasses what is needed to destroy life on earth many times. However, peace has still been maintained as a result of the balance of military-strategic forces that has been established, as a result of the Soviet Union and other peace loving countries possessing a military force powerful enough to discourage those who would start a war. If the arms race enters a new stage, if the latest achievements of science and technology are used for military purposes, who can prevent the hotheads in Washington and within NATO from using their imagined superiority over the opposition and pushing the buttons that launch a most senseless and suicidal war?

Therefore, we absolutely cannot allow this to happen and must prevent an arms race in space. The American people also clearly recognize their responsibility. According to the results of a public opinion survey recently conducted in the United States by the WASHINGTON POST and the American Broadcasting Corporation, 74 percent of the persons surveyed are opposed to the SDI program. Some 1,300 American scientists issued an appeal to other scientists in the United States and the countries of western Europe calling for them to refuse to participate in SDI "research." On 7 November 1985, 30 mass organizations in the United States issued an appeal calling for the American people to participate in a national campaign against the Reagan administration's plan to militarize space. Many U.S. generals and colonels, many former U.S. secretaries of defense, many Nobel Prize winners, many professors and writers and numerous other well known persons in the United States have raised their voices in support of the appeal made by the anti-SDI alliance. Together with the people of the United States, the peace-loving people of the world are uniting more closely and waging a determined struggle to force the U.S. imperialists to abandon the implementation of Reagan's insane "initiatives" and reach agreement with the Soviet Union on preventing the militarization of space and banning the establishment, testing and expansion of offensive space weapons systems. All sincere and practical persons who value their lives and the lives of future generations must raise their voices in support of the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union.

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AUSTRALIA

BRIEFS

HAWKE ARRIVES IN BEIJING--The prime minister, Mr Hawke, has arrived in Beijing from Japan to begin an official visit to China. He was met at the airport by the Chinese agriculture minister, Mr He Kang, and the Australian ambassador, Mr Ross Garnaut. Mr Hawke spent the past 4 days in Tokyo discussing trade issues with Japanese political and business leaders. The two countries agreed to an exchange of trade missions, and Japan gave an assurance not to enter into minerals trade agreements which might hurt Australia. Mr Hawke also called on Japan to increase its imports of Australian goods, particularly beef and uranium. He spent the last day of his visit playing golf and watching a sumo wrestling match. The prime minister will spend a week in China primarily for talks with the Chinese leadership on building closer relations. Mr Hawke's 3-nation Asian tour ends with a visit to the Philippines. [Text] [Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0830 GMT 18 May 86 BK]/12766

GOVERNMENT CONDEMNS SOUTH AFRICA--The Australian Government says it condemns in the strongest possible terms the South African incursions against targets in Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Botswana. The acting minister for foreign minister, Senator Button, said South Africa's actions were an outrageous affront to the norms of civilized behavior and a flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of fellow Commonwealth countries. Senator Button said the actions were even more deplorable because they came at a time when the Commonwealth was trying to help a peaceful transition to universal suffrage in South Africa. A spokesman for the Foreign Affairs Department said that the senior South African representative in Canberra--the embassy counsellor, Mr (William Blueworth)--had been called in today and informed of the terms of Senator Button's statement. The federal opposition has also condemned the South Africa raid. The opposition leader, Mr Howard, said in Canberra today that the military actions had dealt a severe blow to hopes of a moderate solution to the South African problem. [Text] [Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0830 GMT 20 May 86 BK]/12766

UNIONS PRESS GOVERNMENT ON WAGES, TAX CUTS--The Australian Council of Trade Unions [ACTU] says it expects its whole economic package deal with the federal government, including promised tax cuts, to be maintained. The ACTU president, Mr Crean, said in Melbourne that Australia's wage earners had shown restraint and now they expected tax cuts and a promised wage increase to be delivered on time. He said wage earners had received only a 3.8 percent wage rise in the past 13 months while in the same period prices had risen 9.2 percent and company profits had increased to record-high levels. It was unfair, he said, to ask wage earners to exercise more restraint in that situation. The ACTU president was replying to a statement by Mr Hawke that the government's promised tax cuts may be delayed. The prime minister made the announcement while commenting on a statement by the treasurer, Mr Keating, that the tax cuts were most likely to be delivered this year. Mr Hawke also told a specially convened news conference that the Australian cabinet had already discussed the idea of a new economic conference. The special economic conference bringing together the ACTU, employers and business groups, and federal and state governments was announced yesterday by Mr Keating after a meeting of the Prices and Income Advisory Committee. [Text] [Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0430 GMT 17 May 86 BK]/12766

TREASURER CRITICIZED--The New South Wales Young Labor Movement has called on the prime minister to sack the treasurer, Mr Keating, unless he changes economic course. A Young Labor Conference at the weekend endorsed the resolution condemning the treasurer for his statement that Australians need to accept a lower standard of living. Young Labor says Mr Keating has betrayed the fundamental Labor policy of redistributing wealth and says if Mr Keating will not follow that policy the government should replace him with someone who will. This follows a similar call at the weekend when the chairman of the Australian Chamber of Commerce Export Council, Mr Peter Frankel, also called for the removal of Mr Keating. Mr Frankel claimed Mr Keating had lost control of his department and did not understand the economic situation. [Text] [Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0430 GMT 19 May 86 BK]/12766

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BURMA

KAREN INSURGENT ALLIANCES, LOGISTICS BASE REPORTED

Bangkok MATICHON SUT SAPDA in Thai 13, 20 Apr 85

[Article by Ongat Rungchanchai: "The Kawthulay National Liberation War"]

[13 Apr 86 pp 18-20]

[Excerpt] The Karens and the Burmese Communists

A merchant from Mae Sot who is close to senior Karen leaders told us about the present state of affairs. He said that in the past, most of the revenues, including "kok" fees, or timber trading fees, were collected in the zone of the 7th Division. Col Lamu, the fourth chief of staff of the 7th Division was responsible for this. Thus, Col Lamu played a very important role. Because of his position as quartermaster, he had the power to collect money for the state and allot funds for purchasing weapons and other materials. However, during that period, there were no reports of his using his position to engage in corruption.

After Burmese forces overran the Tawo checkpoint, the Karen state underwent great changes. Because after that, the Karens could no longer collect "kok" and timber fees as in the past. The Karen had to make a major change in their operations. The new group of leaders in the cabinet tried to prevent the 7th Division from having any responsibility for state revenues. In particular, responsibility for selling timber, for which Col Lamu had been responsible, was turned over to "Ongchan," the minister of forestry.

This greatly displeased the 7th Division. Because the new leaders had gained their positions with the support of a general, who hoped to profit from this. This general was the chief quartermaster of the Karen national liberation forces. Thus, this general now has the power to purchase war materials for the entire army, with the exception of the 7th Division, where Col Lamu still has the power to purchase weapons.

After this chief quartermaster rose to power, people began hearing reports about corruption. The merchant from Mae Sot said that as a result of the army taking control of the economy, this general became very wealthy. In particular, his family and friends all enjoyed a much higher standard of living that did the other soldiers and Karen people in general. Several people owned expensive property abroad. Some of these attended universities in Europe before returning to take up positions of leadership in the Karen state.

As for the fate of Col Lamu, we have learned that this former district officer in Lai Boei District, who was one of those who founded Kawthulay State and who helped Gen Bo Mya gain power and become president, has remained on the frontline with the 7th Division, living like other officers. His family is very poor and lives in a refugee camp along the Thai border.

However, the chief quartermaster and new leaders in Kawthulay State still rely on the prestige of Gen Bo Mya. They have taken over the important economic positions in order to gain power and pile up profits for themselves. This has complicated the struggle and could lead to disunity.

The Loss of Mae Tawo, a Crack in the Army

Even though there have always been conflicts within the Karen army, the fall of Mae Tawo led to a split between the 7th Division and the main headquarters. The merchant from Mae Sot talked about what led to this. He said that when the Burmese forces launched their attack, the Karen forces under the command of Cpt Loedo, who had been sent from the main headquarters, fought fiercely to break the encirclement. After the fighting had been going on for a period, a 7th Division battalion under the command of Maj Tutu and Maj Chonni contacted Cpt Loedo by radio in order to ask what the situation was like and to tell him that they were sending forces to help him. But Cpt Loedo refused their help, saying that it was too late and that the base would fall the next day.

The fall of Mae Tawo brought great sorrow to Maj Tutu and Maj Chonni. Because if Cpt Leodo had not refused their help, the Burmese forces might not have won and Kawthulay State might not be in the dire straits that it is today. Thus, the fall of Mae Tawo widened the split between the 7th Division and the main headquarters.

Besides this, another dispute arose around the end of last year. A military unit left the main headquarters to join local forces subordinate to the 7th Division. They wanted to attack the Burmese forces positioned opposite Ban Mae Ra in Tha Song Yang District. But the 7th Division forces did not reach the battlefield at the planned time and so the unit from the main headquarters suffered heavy casualties. Among the casualties were Mr Philip Morlis, a Frenchman, who was killed, and Mr Donny Martin, an Australian, who was wounded.

The merchant from Mae Sot provided additional details on this. "I wondered why the forces had not arrived on time. Later, I learned that the 7th Division was upset by the fact that the main headquarters had allowed the Burmese to seize Mae Tawo. Thus, to get even for this, they did not participate in the fighting at Ban Mae Ra as planned. Following that, there were reports that the commander of the 7th Division company that had failed to arrive as scheduled had been executed. But when I asked Maj Thunchai and others about this, they denied that anyone had been executed. To me, these things all indicate that the conflict within the Karen army is growing worse."

Combat Tactics, Conventional Warfare

Even though the war between the Karens and the Burmese has been going on for t decades, the suppression tactics used by the Burmese forces and the resistance waged by the Karen forces have been limited in various respects. A former Thai officer who has followed the fighting for a long time said that even though the Burmese have a greater number of troops, they do not have modern weapons and equipment. Several years ago, the Burmese used narcotics suppression helicopters to bomb the Karen forces. But after two of their helicopters were shot down, the Burmese stopped using helicopters to fight the Karens.

At present, the Burmese army is trying to encircle and suppress the Karen forces. It has positioned 10 divisions to squeeze the Karen forces against the Thai border. However, the Burmese control only a few points. In many places, the fighting is continuing. The Karen forces make surprise attacks from the rear and plant mines. Because of this, the Burmese constantly suffer casualties.

Even though the Karen army is smaller, every division has large numbers of modern weapons. But because the Karen consider Kawthulay State to be an independent country, their combat strategy is limited to holding this area and preventing the Burmese from seizing control of the area. This is clear if you look at the Mawbukay front. Even though the two sides have been fighting for 2 years now, neither side has been able to win.

"Because the Karen consider themselves to be a separate country, they cannot allow Mawbukay to be occupied. Thus, they are waging a conventional war there, and their forces are tied up there. Actually, Mawbukay is not that important to the Karen. Comparing the value of the teak forest there with the cost of fielding a battalion to hold the area, I don't think that it's really worth it," said the former Thai military officer.

To date, the Karen army has been indifferent to carrying on guerrilla operations. Guerrilla units can operate with few men, but they are skilled in operating in jungle terrain. On each combat front, the Karen army usually uses only one battalion to make long-range reconnaissance patrols. They refer to these units as "guerrilla" units. Thus, it has been difficult to move forces unless absolutely necessary.

A Karen officer from Ban Khude talked about guerrilla warfare. He said that "recently, a foreign instructor said that just a few guerrilla troops can conduct reconnaissance patrols and launch successful attacks against the Burmese. The instructor said that guerrilla tactics were very successful in Vietnam."

This shows that the Karen army has begun to develop its tactics and that it sees the importance of this. But because of various factors, the Karen are still very backward in waging war. Before the battle at Ban Mae Ra, the entire Karen army was ordered to fast for a day in order to ask for divine favor.

Because of this, Burmese intelligence units heard about the preparations that the Karen forces were making and so preparations were made to counter the Karen attack.

As for tactics and the future of this protracted war, the former Thai officer said that "comparing the tactics used by the two sides, I think that this is a very backward way of waging war. They are using tactics similar to those used in the first and second world wars. The fighting will probably continue. The Karen have encountered many problems. In particular, they are facing serious economic problems. But the Burmese have problems, too. The government does not have sufficient funds to support the military fully. Also, the Burmese face enemies on several fronts. They are trying to encircle and suppress the minority group rebels, suppress the Burmese Communist Party (BCP) and develop the country.

The Communists Favor Internationalism, But the Karen Want Their Own Country

Even though the Karen and other minority groups have joined together to form a national democratic front, the struggle against the Burmese government is the main factor that has brought these groups together. But as far as political ideals are concerned, the groups all have different ideas.

The Karen leaders are struggling to liberate the country and establish an independent country and are indifferent to the communist line. On the other hand, some leaders of the Pao and Wa national organizations have joined the front of the Burmese Communist Party, which has the best organization and the strongest armed forces. The BCP has a large base along the border with China and has guerrilla units operating throughout all the mountain areas in that region.

As for why the Karen have refused to join the BCP front, Ongchan, the Karen minister of forestry, once told the merchant from Mae Sot that the "communists favor internationalism. But the Karen want an independent country." Loewa, the deputy minister of finance, made a similar remark: "The communists aren't religious, but the Karen are Christian."

Maj Thunchai talked with us further about this and told us about the Karen's policy line. "If the BCP sends forces to attack or invade Kawthulay State, our national liberation forces will retaliate immediately. This is our attitude toward the BCP. But so far, that has not happened."

These statements show the reasons for the differences of opinion. These factors will definitely create difficulties in the future. Because if the minority groups in Burma should succeed in establishing their own independent country, relations between states will become very complex and there will be many problems that will have to be solved.

The BCP doesn't want to get into a conflict with any of the minority groups. It still hopes to persuade the Karen to join the party's front. It is turning toward the Communist Party of Thailand in order to have it serve as a friendly emissary and spread its line based on this goal.

These are political problems, and they will definitely have an effect on Thailand. The only question is how great an effect they will have and how soon this will happen. This is a fact that should be kept in mind.

[20 Apr 86 pp 31, 32]

[Excerpt] Villagers at Mae Tan Live in Bunkers

Even though the front in the national liberation war extends the length of the Thai-Burmese border, today, the battlefield at Mawbukay, which is located opposite Tha Song Yang District, or Mae Tan, is the point about which Thai villagers are more concerned. In the past, Mae Tan was a small and peaceful community located on the bank of the Moei River. But now that fighting has broken out at Mawbukay, the villagers at Mae Tan have been forced to live in the middle of the battlefield. During the fighting, M-79 and 60 mm mortar shells go astray and land in Mae Tan. Many people have been killed and much property has been destroyed.

Because of the danger, the villagers in Mae Tan have all built bunkers to which they can flee during the shelling. They have built bunkers under their houses, along the fences and even inside their houses. Besides this, foxholes have been dug at the police station, the public health clinic, the temple and the school, and bunkers have been built in varicus places.

The fighting in this area broke out 2 years ago. Chonthicha Kanthawang said that everytime gunfire was heard in Mawbukay, the villagers hid in the foxholes and bunkers. It was difficult to go anywhere because of the danger of being hit by a stray shell. The fighting frightened the villagers at Mae Tan.

Later on, when the fighting grew more intense, the district broadcast warnings, telling the villagers to take refuge at the Mae Tan temple, which is located a few hundred meters outside the village. There are enough foxholes and bunkers around the temple to shelter the people, who are safer there than in their houses. When the fighting grew even worse, the district moved the villagers to a temporary refugee center at Ban Saphansong, which is approximiately 1 km from the Mae Tan market. The villagers stayed there for about 1 month. When the fighting died down, the villagers returned to Mae Tan and resumed their normal lives.

Now, even though gunfire from Mawbukay can be heard almost every day, this no longer frightens the villages at Mae Tan. They have become used to this. But even so, every family has made preparations and is ready to flee at any time if the situation should grow worse. The villagers rely on the nearby foxholes and bunkers for protection. But a few months ago, a pregnant woman who was watching television at home was killed by a stray shell from Mawbukay.

Besides that sad event, a 23-year-old girl from Mae Tan said that "shells from Mawbukay frequently land in Mae Tan. Two years ago when the fighting was very heavy, my sister was wounded. A shell hit the house while she was taking a bath. She was hit in the back by tile fragments."

However, many villagers from Mae Tan said that they would like to see the Karen win. Because once the fighting at Mawbukay stops, the villagers at Mae Tan will be able to engage in trade with the Karen state and the economy here will improve greatly. Even though the villagers in Mae Tan are hoping to be able to make money as in the past once the fighting stops, no one knows how much longer the fighting will continue.

The Karen Rear, No Binding Treaties

For a long time, the Kawthulay state has been able to use the Thai border area as an important rear area. In particular, this has served as an important economic base and as a point of contact with the outside world.

The Karen do not have a government that is recognized internationally or any treaties with Thailand. But in the past, the Thai border area here has been regarded as a route for transporting war materials and various types of black market goods. Mae Sot, which is located opposite Myawadi in Burma, has been an important source of supplies for the Karen. This has upset the Burmese. They know that if the Karen could not rely on the Thai border area as an economic rear, the Karen state would collapse immediately.

For this reason, some people who are worried about the future said that if Karen forces attack Myawadi in an attempt to regain control of the town, the Burmese might respond by firing artillery across the border to frighten the people in Mae Sot.

Besides being economically dependent on the Thai border area, the Karen also use the border to keep in contact with other countries in an attempt to gain greater recognition and support for their struggle. Karen leaders use the many trails along the border to facilitate their movements. Because of this factor, they can travel in safety to conduct negotiations with other countries.

As for using the Thai border as a rear area, a person close to the Karen army told us that in moving troops, they frequently cross over into Thailand in order to rotate their troops. But the Karen army has not created any problems for the Thai government. The Thai villagers have great sympathy for the Karen.

While the Burmese forces are fully aware of the fact that the Karen are using the Thai border as a rear area, there is little they can do about this. Because if they retaliate using force, that damages relations with the Thai government, which does not benefit either side. However, Burma's patience is wearing thin, and things could explode at any time. This is something that the Thai government should not overlook.

Some Worrisome Trends

In addition to the various effects that the war in Kawthulay is having on the Thai border, the war there is also creating another problem for the Thai government. The BCP has begun contacting the Communist Party of Thailand (CPT) in order to have it help persuade the Karen government to join the BCP's front. This will probably cause problems for the Thai government in the future.

A person from Mae Sariang District who is close to the combat front said that after the events of 6 October, representatives from the CPT succeeded in forging relations with the BCP. They also succeeded in organizing an armed Karen unit to serve under the leadership of the party.

One of the activists among these Karen was a former Kawthulay captain named "Comrade Sathu." Today, he is still active in Mae Sariang District. He has used his Karen ethnicity to mobilize people in the Karen army. Some Karen units have accepted the communist ideology.

We have learned why some Karen units have joined the CPT. Some of these Karen soldiers are deserters who were tired of the war and could no longer bear the difficult life. More and more Karen soldiers from other units will probably turn to the CPT for the same reasons. This is because the armed soldiers under the command of Comrade Sathu can provide good support and care to the Karen soldiers who desert and join the CPT. It is possible that besides the Karen soldiers who have joined the CPT, others may decide to join the BCP's front if the Karen army is forced back closer to the Thai border and has to dissolve itself at certain points.

That would definitely make the Thai government very unhappy. Because if the Karen army, which is equipped with modern weapons, turned to banditry inside Thailand, that would pose a serious problem. The Thai government must make preparations to deal with this problem. Otherwise, many other problems might crop up along the western border. The situation there would then be no different from that along the Thai-Cambodian border.

These are the problems that must be solved in order to prevent the fighting here from affecting the Thai and minority groups in the area.

11943
CSO: 4207/215

COMMENTARY VIEWS NEED TO BUILD NUCLEAR POWER PLANT

BK160635 Jakarta Domestic Service in Indonesian 1200 GMT 15 May 86

[Station commentary]

[Text] We are relieved by a statement made by Mining and Energy Minister Subroto on Wednesday [14 May] after he called on the president in Jakarta that the public should not be alarmed at and confused by the government's plan to build a nuclear-powered electricity generating plant. The minister's statement is noteworthy in view of the recent leakage at a nuclear-powered electricity generating plant in the Soviet Union which has shocked the world. Speaking to newsmen, Minister Subroto said that the government's plan to build a nuclear-powered electricity generating plant in Indonesia is still in the experimental stage in terms of its location, type, and safety measures. Thus, it is not certain yet whether or not the government will proceed with the plan.

However, Indonesia already has a nuclear research reactor in Serpong as part of its plan to build a nuclear-powered electricity generating plant. According to Minister Subroto, attention should be given to the security, weakness, and strength of this reactor. Initially, the Serpong reactor was intended to train operators for the planned nuclear-powered electricity generating plant. The idea was for them to be ready to run the plant when it is operational.

Indeed, it is not imperative for Indonesia to build the plant, as we have an abundant supply of sources to generate electricity. At present, our hydroelectrical plants have a capacity of 75,000 megawatts, while only [number indistinct] watts are used. Geothermal plants have a capacity of between 10,000 and 15,000 megawatts. Only 30 megawatts are exploited. In addition, we have coal reserves estimated at some 15 million metric tons. Electricity tariffs are still high because some of the existing power plants still use oil as the fuel, while the number of electricity customers is relatively small. For example, the government had 5.1 million electricity customers as of the 1984-85 fiscal year. In the fourth 5-year development plan, the government needs 7.8 trillion rupiah for electricity projects. With this fund, the government expects the villages to enjoy electricity. Eight thousand and six villages enjoyed electricity during the third 5-year development plan. Electricity will continue to play a great role in national development in view of its usefulness not only for lighting but also for industrial development. Electricity contributes to efficiency as it can lower production costs.

We are convinced that the planned nuclear-powered electricity generating plant will come into being in the future because its operational costs are much lower despite its high construction costs. What is important is that such a plant must be safe.

/12640
CSO: 4213/145

SRV-AIDED CLINKER PLANT PRODUCTION CAPACITY NOTED

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 17 Mar 86 pp 1, 4

[Text] Construction of the Tong Pong Clinker Plant was completed in February 1985 with the aid of the SRV. It is a small plant but it has modern machinery and a complete set of production equipment for making cement, including a crusher, pulverizer and filter, which are set up in a modern linked system.

This cement plant symbolizes useful cooperation in cement production; it has a capacity of 8,000-10,000 tons per year.

The plant has been able to produce successfully with the technical aid of SRV experts and workers, the attention of its cadres and workers, and the close supervision of the Ministry of Construction. In 1985, 2,500 tons of cement were produced, which was only a trial run for the plant in distributing its products at stable prices and making a profit for its basic self reliance.

The plant has been struggling to improve and promote its good points and to solve lingering weak points. It has produced a high volume and high quality business and new economic reforms have been implemented correctly by reorganizing the work for each cadre and worker and for each working unit to operate harmoniously. The systems for procuring the raw materials used in production and for distributing its products have been organized without any mistakes or corruption.

12587/12232
CSO: 4206/91

QUARTERMASTER CORPS SUPPORT BASES, OUTPUT DESCRIBED

Performance, Work Praised

Vientiane KONG THAP PASASON LAO in Lao 13 Feb 86 p 1

[Text] The chief of the Army Quartermaster Corps read a report about its 1985 performance on 21 January 1986 on the occasion of the 37th anniversary celebration marking the formation of the Lao People's Army. It stated that the soldiers, cadres, workers, and state employees who are working in the factories, schools, hospitals and agricultural communes under the Quartermaster Corps have displayed a thorough understanding of state policies and their work. They have been striving and succeeding in the work that the upper authorities have delegated to them. He said they deserved to be praised.

After that period, in addition to developing the party, the Quartermaster Corps promoted expanding the LPRYU, the Lao Women's Patriotic Association and trade union membership with more qualified members. These organizations have become combat forces leading in every type of task. In 1 year, 767 cadres were trained at home and abroad in specialized skills. They were trained in daily living habits, clothing and eating habits, hygiene and public health for preventing disease, and in running equipment, transporting supplies and construction. This training was very successful. Sixty-nine [as published] construction projects were completed, of which 6 had Soviet aid, 4 SRV aid, and 58 were funded by our own government.

Animal husbandry: At present there are 799 cattle, 990 water buffalo, 2,250 hogs, 64,906 ducks and chickens, 143,022 duck and chicken eggs, and 165,802 tons of rice paddy. Factories generated a total income of 344,104,902 kip; expenses were 294,094,031 kip, with a total profit of 50,155,771 kip. The Quartermaster Corps provided 433,212 tons of fish to the army, 100 percent of the uniforms for staff, 70 percent of the goods for trade and food supplies, with a value of 306,278,489 kip. Twenty-eight thousand eight hundred forty-five tons of cargo were hauled and it supplied 100 percent of the petroleum for combat units. It performed 100 percent of its training and various administrative duties. Every cadre had a physical checkup, and 58,105 sick cases were treated and cured. All other tasks were also performed successfully in addition to these major tasks. The national defense and development tasks, and combat training for all armed forces were carried successfully.

Army Food Supply System Described

Vientiane KONG THAP PASASON LAO in Lao 13 Feb 86 p 2

[Excerpts] After the official establishment of the Quartermaster Corps Food Supply Company on 16 April 1985, its cadres received orders from the upper authorities to ensure the distribution of food supplies and consumer goods. Their salaries were set at 60 to 70 percent of those for army officers and enlisted men in Vientiane Capital. They must perform their duty on time and correctly, in line with the directions and assistance of the party, the Ministry of Defense and the Quartermaster Corps.

Even though the cadres, state employees, and workers of the Food Supply Company have been totally united in their decisions, problems and difficulties have come up and interfered with their work. The major problem is that there are only 69 comrades in the company, of which half are females. The skilled cadres are mostly specialized in food administration and finance; only two comrades have experience, but only in the old form of management, not in that for the new reformed economic system. Some company activities are planned in line with warehouse inventories and others must be coordinated with those of other departments, namely, of the Planning, Finance, and Army Food Supply Departments and with other companies of the central government, such as the Foodstuffs Restaurant, Domestic Trade, and Mountain Area Developmental Companies. Local trade unit networks and family businesses are expanding. Because of the division of labor and planning, Food Supply Company cadres, state employees and workers are happy and enthusiastic about their duty, in spite of difficulties and confusion. They learn on the job and work around the clock to meet the quotas set by the high level and to respond to the food need of army cadres and soldiers, especially those who live in downtown Vientiane.

According to a report on food supplies by the company head, the company received fresh and dry foods worth 88,715,290 kip in 1985. In each locale the central company generated 30 percent of revenues, army communes 20 percent, and trade with family businesses 50 percent. Ninety percent of meat requirements were provided, with a minimum monthly ration of 3 kilograms per person and a maximum of 10 kilograms. The profit was 9,963,085 kip. Inventory carried over from the past year to the new fiscal year included 2,428 tons of rice; 80 percent of it was supplied at a profit of 10,000,000 kip. Cash and accounts receivable were 99,176,626 kip. Inventories of snacks and refreshments were valued at 9,863,541 kip. 9,863,541 kip in cash was sent to the Finance Department. Paid off debts for food purchases were 99,176,757 kip. Some 2,200 tons of cargo was hauled. Loans of 3,050,000 kip were made to family businesses, and loans totaling 1,330,000 kip were paid back to family businesses. Profits from refreshment bars were 142,000 kip. The chief of the Food Supply Company also stated that we have the following problems ahead of us; training everyone to understand his duty more correctly and to improve his ability; increasing coordination with organizations related to food supplies and sources buying food; ensuring that receiving and distribution are strictly planned; working hard; continuously following up and inspecting the carrying out of plans carefully and systematically on monthly and annual bases; and emphasizing solidarity and independence so that our company can respond to the needs of cadres and soldiers in the army right now and for a long time.

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LAOS

BRIEFS

PHU BIA MONG RESETTLED--Two hundred and three Mong families from Den Sai Canton, Saisomboun District, Vientiane Province, have left their highlands area to resettle on the plains to make a permanent living because of the encouragement of the local administration. The coming down of the Mong from Den Sai Canton to farm on the plains is acknowledged to be an important event because they never have grown rice in Saisomboun District. Therefore, when they came to resettle in the plains area, the district and provincial administrations paid special interest in accommodating their fellow men. The administration has provided adequate land for farming, houses and means of production. [Text] [Vientiane PASASON in Lao 17 Mar 86 p 1] 12587/12232

ARMY SIGNAL PROBLEMS--Making radio communications and the telegram run normally were emphasized as important duties last year. Army Signal staff dedicated all their abilities to providing communications and telegram services between high and low command levels creatively, normally and smoothly in spite of difficulties due to a shortage of experts and inadequate equipment for responding to needs. Overall, they were able to perform the following last year: training in politics and seven military training and four specialized skill classes were conducted. This Army Signal Company accomplished 1,785 short and long distance communications, 1,414 incoming and ongoing telegrams, 2,330 radio communications and 621 transmissions of orders, a total 9,296 telephone connections and 110 telephone lines connected all with 320 personnel; also, they repaired 47 machines and 100 cars, and batteries recharged. [Excerpt] [Vientiane KONG THAP PASASON in Lao 13 Feb 86] /12587/12232

LUANG PRABANG MILITARY, POLICE RECRUITMENT--From 1985 to the present, the Luang Prabang Women's Federation has encouraged women in the entire province to study different documents concerning their duty and to participate in every activity, such as national defense and security. A total of 119 young men were encouraged to enter military service and 25 the police force. [Excerpts] [Vientiane MEGNING LAO in Lao Dec 85 pp 2, 15] 12587/12232

SRV-AIDED TILE PRODUCTION--Since mid-December 1985, the Lao-Vietnamese Friendship Tile Plant has been researching and producing different designs for tile. With the aid of the SRV, 6 new machines have been installed; each machine can produce 260 peices of tile per 8 hours. After an experimental period and with the perserverance of the workers, the plant can now produce floral design tile. Workers are more and more experienced in using production techniques as shown by actual production totalling 6,000 tiles during the past 2 months of 1986. Three hundred twenty six thousand tiles are expected to be produced this year. [Excerpts] [Vientiane PASASON in Lao 7 Mar 86 p 1] 12587/12232

CSO: 4206/91

SRV AID IN SV PROJECT--Vientiane, April 25 (KPL)--The construction works of a reservoir at Houay Sa Kouang, Phin District of the southern Savannakhet Province so far are achieved by 20 percent of its plan. The reservoir will have a capacity of storing 5,000 cubic metres of water. The construction works started in early 1985 and enjoyed a technical cooperation of Binh Tri Thien Province of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam which is twinned to the Lao Savannakhet Province. The construction project of this reservoir is a major project of this Lao province. The construction project included the building of a 1,500 metres long, 4 metres height and 6 metres wide dam and 25 kilometers of canal. The project is scheduled to be finalised by 1987. Once achieved this irrigation system will have a capacity of watering 800 hectares of ricefield during the rainy seasons and 100 hectares at the dry season. A fish freeding project is also included in order to enhance the living condition of people in that region. [Text] [Vientiane NEWS BULLETIN in English 25 Apr 86 p 3] /8309

XIENG KHOUANG TRADE--Vientiane, April 26 (KPL)--The trade enterprise of the northern Xieng Khouang Province last year purchased more than 70 tons of agricultural and forestry products worth more than 22,400,000 kips from the local people. If compared with the same period of 1985, the figures have been increased by 10 per cent. These products include cardamom, benzoin, sticlac, pepper, rattan and other things. [Text] [Vientiane NEWS BULLETIN in English 26 Apr 86 p 3] /8309

DPRK RECEPTION, MAISOUK SAISOMPHENG--Vientiane, April 14 (KPL)--The Ambassador of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to Laos Kim Sang Djoun held a reception here commemorating the 74th birthday of the General Secretary of the Worker's Party of Korea Central Committee and President of the DPRK, Kim Il Sung. Maysouk Saysompheng, member of the party CC, Minister of Industry, Handicraft and Forest, Chairman of the Lao Committee for the Peaceful Unification of Korea, officials of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Socialist diplomats were present at the ceremony. [Text] [Vientiane NEWS BULLETIN in English 26 Apr 86 pp 1, 2] /8309

VIENTIANE PAPER MILL--Vientiane, March 28 (KPL)--A paper mill was built recently in Hatsayphong District, Vientiane Province. This first paper mill in Laos is built with the help of Hanoi, the capital of SRV. It was put into operation last week. The mill can produce in a year 250 tons of thin paper and 300 tons of card-board paper. Now the mill uses waste paper as its raw material for production. [Text] [Vientiane NEWS BULLETIN in English 28 Mar 86 p 2] /8309

MONG RESETTLEMENT--Vientiane, April 30 (KPL)--More than 700 Hmong peoples in the northern Xiengkhouang Province, have been settled on the low land and have adopted a new method of cultivation in the past two months. Newcomers while reaching Khangsi hamlet, Thongkay village, Pek District in Xiengkhouang Province were assisted by the local authority. Rice, clothes, production tools and health protection are given to these tribe peoples. In addition the authority also helped them to clear 80 ha out of 120 ha of land and to build up irrigation system and schools. [Text] [Vientiane NEWS BULLETIN in English 30 Apr 86 p 3] /8309

CHAMPASSAK COFFEE SALES--Vientiane, April 29 (KPL)--So far the trade service of the southern Champassak Province has bought from local farmers more than 2,000 tons of coffee following a wide campaign aiming at widening the trade exchange between the state and farmers launched in November 1985. The campaign was launched in Paksong and Bachieng Chaleunesouk districts as a pilot project in order to widen it to all over the province. The trade service, in its effort to stimulate the exchange between state and local farmers, has experimented two methods of exchange such as the bartering and the purchase with cash or credit. This experience is to be widened to other regions in order to meet the export plan for coffee and industrial plan. [Text] [Vientiane NEWS BULLETIN in English 29 Apr 86 p 2] /8309

CSO: 4200/1055

REPORT CLAIMS DEFICIENCIES IN NUCLEAR SHIPS CODE

HK251216 Auckland THE NEW ZEALAND HERALD in English 18 Apr 86 p 12

[Text] An interdepartmental report prepared for an Auckland Regional Authority [ARA] working party sees deficiencies in the New Zealand Atomic Energy Committee's [AEC] safety code for nuclear-ship visits.

The report calls for a complete revision of the code, known as AEC 500, should nuclear-powered vessels ever be allowed into New Zealand ports again.

While government policy now prohibits the entry of such ships, the interdepartmental group which prepared the report proceeded with its recommendations on the basis of the possibility of a change in policy some time in future, or of an unexpected emergency visit of a nuclear-powered vessel.

In September last year the interdepartmental group, established by the ARA working party on hazardous activities, asked the Atomic Energy Committee to rewrite the code.

Since then it has been asked by the committee to identify the areas of concern it sees in the code.

As a background the report set out the conclusions of an ARA planning department discussion paper prepared in February 1984 -- in the period of a number of nuclear-powered vessel visits -- on AEC 500 and the civil defence contingency plan.

The 1984 conclusions were that the AEC 500 code for nuclear-powered shipping was incomplete because it failed to deal with several important questions, including:

-- The consequences of a melt-down involving a breach of reactor containment.

-- The effects, particularly the long-term effects, to an area contaminated by radioactive isotopes.

-- The effects of radition on life other than human and especially the harbour eco-system supporting the local fishing industry.

-- The scientific basis for the 600m evacuation distance.

Later, in May 1984, a forum held at Auckland University on the issues of the ARA discussion paper decided that as far as AEC 500 was concerned it did not have the scientific objectivity necessary for such a code.

The code appeared "to have been prepared for political reasons," the forum found.

The forum also made suggestions for improving the code to make it more complete and comprehensive.

Among the recommendations were that the code should make provision for the worst possible nuclear accident; that it should be scientifically based; it should contain details on the removal of a vessel from a harbour; and it should be open to public scrutiny.

The interdepartmental group, in its eight-page report to the AEC, said that the document was submitted knowing the code would not be needed and consequently that no revisions would be required.

Nevertheless, the group said it saw its recommendations as being more in the nature of machinery changes to allow various organisations which might use the code to more easily understand and apply it.

Among its general comments, the interdepartmental group found an apparent mixing up of guidelines and requirements in the code.

In its 22 specific recommendations to the AEC the interdepartmental group guestions parts of the code, points to confusion, omissions and possible incorrect assumptions and makes suggestions to clarify certain aspects of the code.

The group says AEC 500 makes no reference to water screening around a vessel although screening is believed to be provided at nuclear-ship berths in ports overseas.

It says the whole procedure for handling a nuclear incident or accident depends on the master of a nuclear vessle advising the harbour authority immediately, but notes there is nothing in the code to ensure or require a master to do so.

It questions whether the code is correct to state that collisions at low speeds would not have the necessary energy to cause a containment rupture. "What about the momentum of a very large merchant ship at low speed?"

The recommendations also refer to sabotage in the light of the Rainbow Warrior bombing.

The Department of Scientific and Industrial Research representative on nuclear shipping committees, Dr Harry Sutton, said yesterday that the points raised by the ARA working party did not appear to be relevant now because no nuclear ship visits were taking place.

He said, however, that if and when such visits started again and AEC 500 was revised, then the matters raised in the ARA report would be considered.

The code, he said, was a public document and open to public scrutiny.

/12640
CSO: 4200/965

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

FOREIGN AFFAIRS MINISTER ON RELATIONS WITH AUSTRALIA

Kunyung PACIFIC DEFENCE REPORTER in English May 86 pp 9, 10

[Article by Legu Vagi]

[Text]

THE GOVERNMENT I represent is committed to working closely with Papua New Guinea's neighboring countries. We seek to have and develop independent and constructive co-operation with all our neighbors, including Australia.

We fully recognize that our relationship with Australia encompasses a wide range of activities and provides substantial benefits for both our countries. The new Government appreciates that since 1973 Papua New Guinea has enjoyed support from successive Australian governments. And we appreciate your own reassurance last year during the negotiations of the new five-year aid agreement of Australia's firm and long-term commitment to assist Papua New Guinea's development efforts.

I would like to once again place on record Papua New Guinea's appreciation for the generous assistance that Australia will make available under the new five-year aid agreement. We propose to make full use of the non-budget support assistance component to build up our institutional capacities so that we can more efficiently utilize our limited resources. This will, at the same time, enable Papua New Guinea to move closer towards its goal of self-reliance.

As a trading partner, it would be true to say that Papua New Guinea is relatively insignificant as a supplier of Australia's import requirements, providing only 0.3 per cent of Australia's total imports during 1983/84. On the other hand, Australia is the largest single supplier of imports to Papua New Guinea, enjoying an average annual share of 40 per cent of total Papua New Guinea imports.

The balance of trade has continually been in Australia's favor with an increasingly adverse trend against Papua New Guinea. The second of the Papua New Guinea-Australia Trade and Commercial Relations Agreement (PATCRA) in this regard has been disappointing. We propose in the near future to examine how the objectives of PATCRA could be better achieved.

The Government, however, appreciates that trade has a direct correlation to investment. As you know, the new Government's economic strategy seeks to maximize growth through encouragement of investment. Australia has been a significant source of foreign investment in Papua New Guinea. The Government would like to encourage increased levels of investment from Australia and other countries.

We recognize that PNG's image overseas, particularly in law and order, has not been a good one. However, our capacity to correct this overseas image is limited by available resources. At home, however, law and order has received priority attention. We have benefited from Australian assistance to examine our Police Department.

However, developments in Papua New Guinea also need to be seen in perspective. PNG has a sound record of stability and economic management. Major international financial institutions like the World Bank and major international companies such as BHP, Kennecott and CRA have recognized PNG's record and potential. Unfortunately, this confidence in PNG's stability and future progress is not understood or appreciated by the media.

Both our countries enjoy a sound defence relationship. My Government appreciates the generous assistance that Australia provides annually under its defence co-operation program, despite the pressing needs of your own armed services and other countries in the region.

However, my Government recognizes that Papua New Guinea's defence and security primarily rests on Papua New Guinea. It is true to say that Papua New Guinea has a modest capacity to defend herself if a threat arises. We cannot also assume that Australia's military forces will come to our assistance.

We also share a common maritime border which places on both our countries a common responsibility to ensure that the rights of the traditional inhabitants are not seriously affected. We must also not allow the border to develop into a problem, particularly through drug smuggling, illegal exploitation of the marine resources and illegal migration.

However, I am pleased to note that the Torres Strait Treaty has now been ratified by both our countries and that officials are currently taking steps to implement the provisions of the treaty. I am confident the treaty will prove a valuable mechanism for the administration of the border.

Since taking office, the Government of Mr Wingti has had to make some painful decisions to get the country's economy moving again. An important part of the Government's strategy is to seek to maximize efficiency and productivity within the limited resources available including foreign aid. A major effort will be made to shift resources away from administration to priority areas. The Government has also taken steps to reduce as well as streamline the bureaucracy.

The presence in Papua New Guinea of 10,000 border crossers from the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya has placed a heavy burden on successive Papua New Guinea governments and Papua New Guinea's limited resources. I would like to express here Papua New Guinea's appreciation for the assistance that Australia has been able to give, through the UNHCR, for the welfare of border crossers.

The Government has decided that the present situation on our common border with Indonesia should not be allowed to continue. Decisions have therefore been taken for Papua New Guinea to accede to the UN convention and protocol relating to the status of refugees as well as to invite the UNHCR to participate in the administration of camps for border crossers and refugees. These decisions take full account of the requirements of Papua New Guinea's security, as well as the plight of the border crossers and refugees in a humanitarian and caring way. I am pleased to note the Australian Government's understanding of our intentions.

Both our countries pay particular importance to our relations with other South Pacific countries and the activities of the South Pacific Forum. Two major issues, in our view, must receive urgent and continued attention. These concern New Caledonia and the need to assist the development of the Forum island countries.

WE CONSIDER that the issue of decolonization in New Caledonia cannot be considered in isolation from other French activities in the Pacific including French nuclear testing at Mururoa. Papua New Guinea fully supports the Kanaks' struggle for full independence — nothing short of full independence, through peaceful means. The French Government must be urged to act now to remove uncertainties and further hardships by completing the last but difficult steps in the decolonization process in New Caledonia.

The prolonged negotiations between the Forum countries and the United States on a multilateral fisheries access agreement is also of concern to Papua New Guinea. We are concerned that the United States is more concerned with the interests of particular US private sector groups at the expense of Pacific states whose economic prospects heavily depend on exploitation of the fisheries resource. We believe the delays and attitudes of the US can only encourage other Forum countries to seek out arrangements similar to that concluded by the Kiribati Government.

The Government is also keen on developing a closer relationship with all the member countries of ASEAN. We propose to further explore opportunities for developing close relations at both a bilateral and regional basis.

Outside of the immediate region, the Government has decided to establish a mission in Beijing in recognition of the importance of China as well as the North Asia region. In North America, the Government has decided to appoint an ambassador to Washington with concurrent accreditation to the UN, Canada and Mexico.

These decisions of the Government on diplomatic representation aim to develop a viable diplomatic capacity to secure Papua New Guinea's national interests, especially security and vital resources for our development. They also aim to ensure recognition of Papua New Guinea's sovereignty and seek to avoid dependence on foreign assistance of any sort, and in particular for no investment, military or foreign aid agreement or understanding which may lead to substantial dependence upon or influence by any country, investor, lender or donor.

It is also important to bear in mind that unlike other neighboring countries, Australia is an essentially affluent, industrial, and homogeneous European society. It is also a major power in the region. The majority of Australians are only aware of their region as tourist destinations or as countries led by military dictatorships and power-hungry leaders.

It would be true to say that Australia is as different from Papua New Guinea as Indonesia is to Papua New Guinea. This fact was clearly highlighted with the emergence of Mr Wingti as Prime Minister in the new Government. To many Australians, Mr Wingti is an "unknown quantity". Given the importance of our relationship, we can understand the close interest in Mr Wingti's leadership and on how the present Government deals with Papua New Guinea's external relations.

Over the past 30 months our relationship has been tested by various developments including the interview by an ABC crew of an OPM leader in Papua New Guinea territory, allegations by the National Times on electronic equipment in the Australian High Commission in Port Moresby for eavesdropping on Papua New Guinea communications; the Pacific patrol boat offers to Papua New Guinea; the negotiations on the new five-year aid agreement; various import regulations relating to meat, vegetables, sugar, and rice; and the state of emergency in the national capital district.

The potential damage that misunderstanding in Australia can cause to Papua New Guinea's efforts should not be underestimated.

Our experience is that many in positions of decision-making or influence — such as parliamentarians, businessmen, academics, students, media and community leaders — are not sufficiently aware of Papua New Guinea and efforts of Papua New Guinea governments. I am also conscious that the same can be said of those in Papua New Guinea in relation to the changing perceptions in Australia. It is within this context that I have proposed a program of visits and dialog which would include a broad range of people. My Government would be glad to host the first dialog later this year. I would also like to repeat the invitation to members of Parliamentary committees like the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence to visit Papua New Guinea.

Papua New Guinea is a Melanesian country and a South Pacific country. This is our identity. We recognize that Australia and Papua New Guinea are neighbors forever. Our national interests are affected by our respective actions and changes in perceptions — of ourselves, the neighborhood and the international environment. This is also true of our relations with other South Pacific countries and Indonesia. ■

/9317
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WEEKLY REPORTS CONTINUING USE OF PARAMILITARY CULTS

Quezon City WE FORUM in English 15-21 Apr 86 p 5

[Article by Nora O. Gamolo: "The Unholy Alliance Between Cult Fanatics and the Military"]

[Text]

Armed Forces Chief of Staff Gen. Fidel Ramos has recently ordered the disbandment of paramilitary groups such as the Civilian Home Defense Force (CHDF) units and the Lost Command. Not a word was mentioned, however, about the military's use of religio-fanatical groups in its counter-insurgency campaign, a matter that has always been controversial and the source of friction between the Church and the military in the past.

The Lost Command and these religio-fanatical groups are active in the beleaguered island of Mindanao. In the municipality of San Francisco, Agusan del Sur, every resident knows former Agusan PC Provincial Commander Col. Carlos Lademora and his group of discharged draftees which he prefers to call "Angels" but are more popularly known as the Lost Command. The group has hugged the headlines and are now the subject of international controversy. This, after they got entangled with a British-funded agribusiness venture, the NDC-Guthrie plantations which hired them as security guards. The series of killings and other atrocities, coupled with other crimes placed the British in a very bad light. The Lost Command was eventually eased out of the plantation, at least officially, and was replaced by a private security force. But it is reportedly active in military actions against the New People's Army, with the people bearing the brunt of this campaign. Lademora and his men are officially no longer in active service, although their services are still reportedly being used for military purposes.

Mindanao has the most number of these paramilitary religio-fanatics. Former MP Homobono Adaza puts their total membership at 20,000 to 30,000.

These cults share common rituals and beliefs. Most rub lana or oil on their bodies for protection. All use an array of amulets — from belts and chalecos to libretos, necklaces and rings that recruiters and cult leaders sell for P10 to P50. Most abstain from meat on Tuesdays, practice spiritual healing and hold their rituals in corrupted Latin.

In Mindanao, the most dreaded groups are the Rock Christ, Tadtad, Ilaga, Lanahan, 4Ks and Pulahan, whose most trusted members are armed usually by the military to kill. Marks left on the victims' bodies give clues to the killers' identities — left ears cut off, bolo gashes all over the body, slashed breasts of women, mutilated children, and in several instances, the abdomens of pregnant women slit open. There have been reports of cannibalism among these groups, with their members eating portions of the bodies of their victims, either to neutralize the victim's soul or gain additional powers and attributes.

Deposed president Marcos, in talks with US Ambassador Stephen Bosworth and Admiral William Crowe Jr., commander-in-chief of the US Pacific Fleet, credited the gains in counter-insurgency to the "support of various sects and cultists fighting the New People's Army."

This, however, he denied in an interview with South, a Third World magazine. According to him, he has not authorized the use of "such unintegrated and uncontrolled organizations." Added he, "Why, they are probably fighting the NPA in self-defense."

While the linkages between the military sector and these groups have been officially denied, as early as 1982, an army colonel told the Pagadian Times that fanatic groups "could be an effective weapon against insurgency." Since some cultists do wield influence in some communities, they could launch counter-propaganda offensives in the countryside.

So effective can these groups be that Dinagat Island off the coast of Surigao City is said to be the only place in Surigao del Norte where the NPA has not shown activity. The island is a known bastion of the Philippine Benevolent Missionaries Association (PBMA) which is being headed by its mayor (unless he has already been replaced), Ruben Ecleo, said to be an ex-colonel. The PBMA, which has an armed group, mostly bodyguards of Ecleo who are called "White Eagles" is actively operating in Surigao City and has been involved in terrorizing local residents there.

Ecleo's success in Dinagat is deemed an example for some elements of the military now said to be forming their own "religious groups." A certain Fr. Deone, alias "Amang Frank" of the Crusade Word Army is said to have CIA connections. Eyoy Tabiano of the Lanahan claims to have the backing of the local police and military in Misamis Occidental. Anastacio Balase of Rock Christ is reportedly a reserve colonel. Local recruiters include baranggay captains, policemen, CHDF members, town mayors and even a provincial governor in Mindanao.

There are also some indications that these groups are being used by the military:

- In Ozamis, the 87th Rangers Company were mentioned in connection with a sub-group of the Ilagas;
- The Preservation of Democratic Institutions in the Philippines, 4Ks and Sagrado Corazon in Zamboanga del Sur are known to have been trained by the Airborne Division.
- Townspeople in Agusan, Bukidnon and Butuan City associate the 23rd, 5th and 29th Infantry Battalions with armed fanatic groups.

A basis for the suspicion of military-fanatics tie-up is the military men's refusal to launch operations against armed cultists such as the Rock Christ which has been terrorizing the residents of Misamis Occidental since 1981 and the Tadtads who are active in Surigao del Sur.

Many people join fanatic groups after receiving threats from recruiters that if they refuse, their names would land in the list of suspected NPAs — and thus be eligible for liquidation. Others embrace fanaticism for messianic reasons — that they will be saved from the wrath of God. Others are promised a better life on earth. Still there are some who join to have supernatural powers from the amulets.

A more vicious cycle of how their folk religious beliefs have been abused is their abhorrence of the NPA rebels, who they consider to be preachers of a "godless ideology." Former MP Adaza has explained quite clearly: "The government's theory is that by supporting these groups, they will, in effect, act as a counter-foil to the (NPA) insurgency."

Meanwhile, these groups are already proliferating in the country, a phenomenon which social analysts consider as an adaptive mechanism to cope with greater social, economic and political crises. It is a situation that is present only in areas with severe social dislocations, where the literacy level is so low and where education remains a privilege of the rich and middle class, according to these observers.

The PC'ing Yapak (Barefoot PC) and the Doce Pares are based in Laguna and Bicol provinces, respectively. Some religio-fanatic groups in Mindanao such as Lanahan are legally registered in the Securities and Exchange Commission under the name of Protection of Democratic Institutions of the Philippines (PDIP) and can therefore expand with legal guarantees anytime.

Church groups such as the National Secretariat for Social Action have already called attention to this complex problem posed by the unholy alliance between the military and these groups. At the very least, the military should clarify this muddled issue.

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FOOD MINISTER PICKS KMP OVER 'MARCOS-SPONSORED' GROUPS

Quezon City WE FORUM in English 15-21 Apr 86 p 13

[Article by Dong A. Delos Reyes: "Mitra Fires the First Salvo; Peasant War Heats Up"]

[Text]

Agriculture and Food Minister Ramon V. Mitra Jr. drew first blood when he offered a seat in the ministry's elite six-man executive management board to a peasant representative of a group known more for its fighting stance than strength in numbers.

The move was seen as a virtual snub to other peasant groups and a signal for truce with the 500,000-strong Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP). The KMP once hauled farmers out of the tilling fields to rally in Manila's streets against the Marcos regime. Early last year, the KMP stormed the gates of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food in Diliman to demand lower prices of agricultural products and a nationalist business policy.

Mitra's move to scrap the Marcos regime-sponsored "peasant organizations" sent the Pambansang Kapisanan ng mga Samahang Nayon (PKSN) and Agrarian Refom Beneficiaries Association (ARBA), whose national membership run up to five million, digging up its trenches and firing mortars (mostly verbal) at the MAF minister.

PKSN national president Ambrosio Lumibao accused Mitra of "gross ignorance and incompetence" on peasant issues.

Lumibao took on a strike-everywhere stance, hitting both KMP and ARBA. He charged KMP's Tadeo of mismanaging an area marketing cooperative's resources in Plaridel, Bulacan and lunged at the KMP membership. These are non-peasants but mere students, church workers, and laborers, he said.

Threatening to stage rallies at Malacanang to seek Mitra's ouster, the embittered PKSN bossman called ARBA a "paper" organization used as a "propaganda tool" of outgoing Agrarian Reform Minister Conrado Estrella.

Lumibao's ire and fire may have been caused by Mitra's proposal to accredit the KMP and use it as a conduit for the ministry's crop financing projects, a status the PKSN once enjoyed during the Marcos era. The Samahang Nayon was entitled to a cavan of palay for every harvested hectare, and KMP representatives are asking where the palay fund has gone.

Interestingly, KMP turned down the MAF offer, preferring to fiscalize agricultural policies in the parliament of the streets — its familiar turf. KMP representatives found out early this month that a 15-man executive board which performed similar functions under ex-MAF head Salvador Escudero proved ineffective in bringing about meaningful policies for the Philippine peasantry.

"Nasilat sa pag-aregio ng mga ipapatupad nang patakaran ang kinatawan ng magsasaka noon at ayaw naming mangyari ang ganoon sa ipapasok naming kinatawan mula sa KMP," KMP head Jaime Tadeo said.

Despite the KMP's militance and its leader's solid credentials (Tadeo was detained under the former regime), KMP has kept its men at the sidelines rather than join the noisy fray.

Hordes of placard-bearing PKSN people have trooped to the Central Luzon State University (CLSU) campus in Munoz, Nueva Ecija over the weekend to air their gripes against the MAF in preparation for a march to Manila's streets. This is certainly a new experience for PKSN which had been at the forefront of praise parades for the deposed dictator.

Sources at NFA are only shaking their heads at Lumibao's new-found voice, he whom they once asked to sign pro-Marcos manifestos for the past 14 years.

And Lumibao can cry his heart out at the CLSU grounds where a farmer's son, Danilo Balgos, once studied. Balgos lost his life during a KMP march in October, last year.

The present government has a more liberal atmosphere where precious spittle can be shed for the cause of the Filipino peasants.

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PEASANT MOVEMENT LEADER MEETS FOOD MINISTER MITRA

Quezon City WE FORUM in English 8-14 Apr 86 p 6

[Article by Romy P. Marinas: "Peasants After the City Revolution"]

[Text]

Jaime Tadeo mesmerizes his listeners when he begins citing facts and figures on Philippine agriculture. Maybe because he does it unaided by notes and charts and yet remembering statistics to two decimal places. Maybe also because he does it in rapid-fire fashion you have to keep your eyes on him and your ears tuned in on no one but the 48-year-old chairman of the Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas (KMP-Peasant Movement in the Philippines).

The urgency in the words of Ka Jimmy, as he is called by the KMP's "strongly organized mass base of 500,000 peasants and agricultural workers" and by non-farmers alike, springs from nearly a quarter of a century of working with the Filipino peasantry and himself toiling as a peasant in his 4,000 square meters in Plaridel, Bulacan.

After the Four Days of February, which Tadeo describes as "a city revolution sa hindi naman tumagos sa kanayunan," [it didn't get down to the smallest village"] the fire is still there. He, however, told WE Forum that organizationally, the KMP had committed itself to a posture of "critical cooperation" vis-a-vis the Aquino government.

"We cannot be combative at the moment," Tadeo, 48, said.

The new government seems to be appreciative of the KMP stance.

Agriculture and Food Minister Ramon Mitra, for instance, had been reiterating his invitation to Tadeo to join the ministry's management executive committee as a forum for government-farmer dialog. For another, the ministry is not anymore no man's land for the tillers of the field unlike before when peasants had to pitch camp at the ministry in Quezon City to air their demands. Last Thursday, minister Mitra personally met with the KMP at the agricultural extension bureau. It will be recalled that over a year ago, some 5,000 farmers who sought audience with then minister Salvador Escudero III were dispersed with truncheons and tear gas bombs.

"Probably, we will recommend a peasant advocate to represent the KMP in the committee," said Ka Jimmy, an ex-political detainee who had worked with government entities like the National Irrigation Authority (NIA) and the Samahang Nayon.

[farming cooperative]

The apparent guardedness on government overtures appears to stem from the fact, according to Tadeo, that the Aquino administration still has to make definitive pronouncements on genuine land reform which, incidentally, is just one of the five major demands of the KMP. The movement is also asking for: an end to foreign control and monopoly of Philippine agriculture, an assurance of just prices for farmers' produce, creation of government support programs to improve the peasants' quality of life, and an end to the militarization of the countryside.

"Magkasalungat ang militarisasyon at

["militarization and agricultural productivity are going in opposite directions,]

agricultural productivity," said Tadeo-who had recently returned from Ilagan, Isabela and San Jose, Occidental Mindoro. He informed **WE Forum** that in San Jose, political warlordism. is as intact as the "machinery of the Marcos fascist dictatorship."

Political wardlordism is a lesser issue apparently to Tadeo and the KMP, the most basic being the yet unanswered question of land ownership.

"Ang kinukontrol lamang po ng magbubukid ay ang kumunoy ng kahirapan."

["The only thing the farmer controls is the quicksand of poverty,"]

Tadeo told Mitra, trying to call the minister's attention to the centuries-old status of an agricultural worker.

"Hindi po dapat na agricultural worker na lamang ang magsasaka,"

["The farmer should not just be a farm hand or an agricultural worker,"]

he said as he refreshed government's memory on the 34 million Filipinos dependent on the soil for survival. The figure tallies with that of the private think tank Center for Research and Communication (CRC) which said that "agriculture is the main source of livelihood for 35 million Filipinos, or about 70 per cent of the total population who live in the rural areas."

The agriculture and food minister, however, begged off from going deeper into the land reform query, saying that the issue could be resolved only by the agrarian reform ministry which, to date, does not yet have a minister.

Mitra, however, promised to look into the pricing of palay upon complaint of farmers who dialogued with him last Thursday. Tadeo had asked him to act on the maze of requirements set by the National Food Authority (NFA) regarding the support price for palay which stands at P3.50 per kilo (95 per cent purity, 14 per moisture content). The KMP is batting for 90 per cent purity and 16 per cent moisture content, for more buying stations, and for the trimming down of "bureaucratic practices by the NFA" that require farmers to wait for days on end for payment.

The KMP had also taken issue with the three-pronged thrust of Mitra, namely, credit, technology, and marketing, saying that these would only entrench further the plantation-economy scheme of finance minister Jaime Ongpin.

"Gagawin lang niyang plantation economy na yan na kasangkapan ang mga magbubukid sa pagpapayaman ng mga dayuhang monopolyo,"

["They are just going to use the farmer in a plantation economy to enrich the foreign monopolists,"]

Tadeo said, adding that collective farming is not the same as corporate farming which is Ongpin's real brainchild.

"The energy of peasants will not be reinvigorated by a plantation economy because the farmers will forever remain agricultural workers devoid of possessing one single means of production," predicted Tadeo, an agriculture graduate of the Araneta University.

While the KMP is keeping its fingers crossed that the Aquino government will go beyond the Operation-Land-Transfer stuff the land reform program of the Marcos regime was made of, it is not about to give up on human rights abuses committed against the KMP's supporters. Ka Jimmy told **WE Forum** that the killing of two student supporters on Taft Avenue last year will be referred to the presidential commission on human rights. And so will the alleded "salvaging" three years ago of five peasant organizers in Bulacan.

"Ang people power ay hindi natapos sa lansangan,"

["People power did not end in the streets,"]

the bearded, bespectacled Ka Jimmy said.

While "critical cooperation" is the order of the day for the KMP that speaks of an effective influence on an estimated two million peasants, it keeps an alert watch on the imminent moves of foreign interests not at all pleased with the modus vivendi between President Aquino and the peasants.

When asked by **WE Forum** on the reaction of the American Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ACCI) to the KMP's opposition to the plantation economy scheme, among other threats to U.S. transnational corporations in the country, Ka Jimmy said the movement expects resistance. He did not elaborate.

It is not any consolation to foreign investors and remaining Marcos cronies some of Mitra's pronouncements. In his latest tete-a-tete with the KMP, the minister announced that the abolition of the coconut monopoly is "for good" and that the days of the sugar quota are numbered.

That must have rang a pleasant note to Ka Jimmy whose beard and moustache, streaked with grey, are two things he has in common with the bearded, moustachioed Mitra.

CSO: 4200/1027

CORPUS DISCUSSES PERSONS, EVENTS LEADING TO DEFECTION

Quezon City VERITAS in English 13 Apr 86 pp 18, 19

[Article by Annabelle Cueva Clutario: "The Saga of Victor Corpuz"]

[Text]

THIS question had been asked long ago. Why would an intelligent young man, with a promising career ahead of him, suddenly turn against an establishment where things could have worked out fine for him personally if only he wanted to?

In Victor Corpus's case, the question raised deeper implications. More than 15 years ago, on December 29, 1970 to be exact, he shocked the nation by leading a raid of the armory of his own alma mater, the Philippine Military Academy (PMA), leaving a note declaring then, "I am resigning as officer of the PMA to join the real army -- which is, the New People's Army (NPA)."

The incident itself marked one of the earliest successes of the NPA since its founding a year before and perhaps one of its most outstanding military accomplishments even to this day. The rebels were able to haul off some 41 high-powered firearms, including several .30 caliber machine-guns and an armor-piercing bazooka, with up to 8,000 rounds of ammunition. And the entire operation was conducted by only 11 men, including Corpus, without firing a single shot.

Yet what has made this event rather significant in the historical sense was not the number of arms gained by the rebels (the feat has been surpassed by subsequent NPA raids, such as the one at the Visayas Maritime Academy in Bacolod City, Negros sometime last year where about 400 arms were taken), but the fact that a PMA lieutenant-instructor, an officer of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP), had gone on to the side of forces seeking to destroy the very institution to which he had supposedly dedicated his life.

Corpus, even after his release from prison recently, does not show any hint of the rebel that he became. He retains the strong, muscular physique of a typical military man but would strike anyone as a rather amiable person, with boyish looks and an ever-smiling face.

"Vic," as friends call him, comes from a relatively well-to-do family with a long tradition of military service. His father, Col. Vicente Corpus (retired), was the former chief surgeon of the Philippine Army. His mother, the former Leonor Navarro, is the daughter of the late Col. Celestino Navarro, a PMA graduate of 1910 and a recipient of the Distinguished Service Star.

As a boy, Vic had impressed his teachers at De La Salle with his peculiar religiosity, by the way he would scribble "JMJ" (meaning Jesus, Mary, Joseph) in a conspicuous corner in his letters and testpapers. He finished high school with honors and would have wanted to become a priest, if not for the pleading of his parents who wanted him to enter the PMA and become a military officer just like his father and grandfather.

Obviously, the PMA would be the last place any aspiring rebel would want to be. As the premiere institution of military training in the country, it is the bastion of conservative thought and the pride of the military establishment as well.

At the same time, however, the PMA was not at all exempt from the social upheaval that had been sweeping the country since the late 1960's and the early 1970's, and which eventually led to the declaration of martial law by the Marcos regime. In this sense, Vic was more a product of his time than he was of the religious schools and the military institution that reared and taught him.

When finally he decided to take the extreme act of defection, he was surprisingly greeted by both angry denunciations and admiring praises, depending on which side was speaking.

President Marcos, for one, was particularly jolted by Corpus's defection that he immediately ordered a massive "loyalty check" within the AFP – a move that was perhaps part of a long-term plan to insure his control over the military. Corpus was tagged as a "renegade PMA soldier," one who was not to be emulated by anyone in the military.

On the other hand, there were those, including not a few senators and congressmen at the time, who spoke highly of Corpus's courage and daring. Former Senator Estanislao Fernandez, for instance, wrote personally to Vic's parents that "in making these sacrifices for what he believes to be a patriotic and noble cause, (Victor Corpus) has demonstrated the qualities that make of men not only true leaders but heroes and patriots as well."

His own classmates, members of the PMA Class of '67 who were said to have been summoned to a meeting by their military superiors, had also refused to denounce him as reportedly ordered.

In a way, it was Corpus who planted the very first seeds of rebellion in the military. In fact, it seems not entirely coincidental that it was his students from the PMA Class of '71, that batch of cadets who were then about to graduate when the PMA armory raid was staged, who eventually spearheaded the Reform AFP Movement (RAM).

In some respects, the Corpus defection parallels the military rebellion that led to the ouster of the Marcos regime. Like Corpus, the leaders of the military rebellion finally rejected what had become of the military, a tool of dictatorship for the suppression of people's rights – or so it seems. Corpus wanted to belong to the "real army." And this he did in a somewhat similar way as Gen. Ramos and Defense Minister Enrile had called for the establishment of a "New Armed Forces of the People" – via the ultimate act of rebellion.

CORPUS'S defection did not come about as a matter of impulse on his part. It was very much the result of a long, tedious process of conversion to the cause of "national democracy," hastened by his steady disenchantment over what has come to be known among activists as the "mercenary orientation" of the military.

Apparently, he did a lot of thinking before finally doing what he thought he ought to do. "My decision to leave the armed forces was the great turning point in my life," Vic relates. "It was really very difficult for me. *Biro mo,* [you know] I had to leave everything behind me. I had to risk my life for something I believed in. My wife had just given birth to our first baby then. And then I would leave my career and join a movement in which my life would always be in great danger."

As a cadet in the PMA, Vic was deeply influenced by his political science professor, Dr. Dante Simbulan who was a graduate of the PMA and then widely known as a nationalist. Jose Ma. Sison, then a young professor and national chairman of the Kabataang Makabayan (KM), had also impressed Vic with his lectures at the PMA.

"That's when I joined the KM," Vic recalls, along with three other PMA cadets whom he did not identify. As an activist, he was exposed to the burning issues of the time – "imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism" as the national democratic movement saw it. He developed a hunger for new ideas. He made it a point to read the latest issues of the "Free Press' and "Graphic" magazines. He used up his monthly allowance just to buy books from the Erehwon bookshop in Manila, especially regarding the "people's war" in China, Vietnam, Latin America, and the Middle East. And he went regularly to visit Sison's home just to get updates on the issues of the day.

Still, Vic remained a good student at the PMA, where he excelled in both academics and athletics, to become an all-around soldier who mastered his skills in shooting, boxing, judo, tennis, badminton, track and field, and debating. When he graduated, he immediately took the officers' training course and emerged at the top of his class. He then went into Special Forces air-borne training in Fort Magsaysay, Nueva Ecija and was eventually assigned to the Philippine Constabulary.

It was in the field that Vic's disillusionment with the military began. During the 1967 local elections, Lt. Corpus of the 51st PC Ranger Battalion was assigned to Wawa, Rosario, Cavite for election duties. While escorting the ballot box from the precinct to the municipal hall, he received reports that PC soldiers were positioned along the way to ambush them and grab the election returns. Vic and his men thus decided to take another route. For such an exemplory role, he was commended by then Cavite Governor Delfin Montano. But Corpus remained deeply affected by this particular incident. *"Biro mo, kasama mo aambusin ka,"* ["You know, your comrade will ambush you," Vic remarks.

Another case was the Jabidah affair. Jabidah was the code-name of a secret operation involving a special force organized by the PC, the members of which were mostly Muslims and a few PMA graduates, and whose assignment was to disguise themselves as Malaysian soldiers, infiltrate Sabah, and commit atrocities against the civilian population. The idea was to discredit the Malaysian government and thus facilitate the Philippine claim on Sabah, even if it meant the massacre of whole villages by such a sinister secret force.

Corpus remembers being nearly recruited for the Jabidah secret force. "Luckily, *hindi ako napasama*." [I wasn't included;"] he says. But he was really shocked, as was the entire nation, upon learning that a certain Lt. Nepomuceno, a PMA graduate of Class '65 and a member of the Jabidah secret force, had mysteriously vanished along with several Muslim soldiers, when apparently they could no longer stomach what they were doing. An investigation was ordered by the government, but nothing ever came out of that.

Then came the time when Vic, as a PC officer, received a mission order to liquidate a certain oppositionist mayor. "Even then, salvaging was already very rampant. It just didn't get as much media exposure as it does now," Vic explains. But that for him was already the last straw, as he immediately requested to be transferred to the PMA so that he would just teach.

All this time though, Vic remained committed to the KM. He continued with his readings on history and current events. He continued with his regular visits to Sison to be updated on the issues of the day.

At one time, when he was still with the PC, Vic coordinated with the student activists in providing security for victims of political persecution from Oro Bata, Bantay town, Ilocos Sur, which was then one of the most celebrated causes in the early 1970's. He also headed an army group sent to protect the US embassy during a demonstration by the Movement for a Democratic Philippines, but instead of dispersing the protesters as he was ordered to, he merely waved his hands at them and engaged in friendly conversation with the activists, some of whom turned out to be his friends.

At about this time, Vic met, courted, and married Gerumelinda "Mely" Tangiao, a member of the Samahang Demokratiko ng Kabataan (SDK) at UP where she was taking up B.S. Education. Afterwards, it was on to Baguio with his wife for his new assignment as political science instructor at the PMA. There, Vic began organizing discussion groups among the cadets to instill in them the virtues of nationalism and democracy, even as he wrote regularly for the PMA school organ on what he thought should be the role of the military in Philippine society.

Questioned about such activities by military officials of the academy, Vic was eventually dismissed from his teaching post and made assistant mess officer. Good soldier that he was, Vic accepted the job without any complaints and tried to do it well. Discovering the corruption of some PMA officials who kept long-standing debts at the mess hall, Vic proceeded to display their names on the bulletin board, including those of top-ranking officers. Next, he denounced and demanded an investigation into the alleged overpricing in the purchase of mess hall supplies.

For this, Vic was again sacked and this time made commissary officer, "a glorified clerk," he joked to his family. Even then, he secretly continued his discussions with the cadets and kept his contacts with the activist movement, including Sison who by then had already gone underground following the founding of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and the NPA.

It was then that he and his wife were suddenly visited at their quarters in Nakar Hall by one of his former classmates in the PMA working for intelligence, accompanied by a group of Monkees, a paramilitary force then operating in Central Luzon. As Vic recounts, that classmate of his warned him that they knew of his activities and that he was under surveillance. "The implication was that if I didn't stop what I was doing, I was going to be liquidated by these monkees," Vic said. "*Kaya pumayag na rin akong sumama sa NPA.*" ["That's the reason I joined the NPA."]

THE NPA then, which Vic was about to join, was not yet quite a "real army" as he later stated in his defection letter. Founded in 1969, it was said to have begun as a ragtag band of 60 men with only 35 rifles and pistols, consisting mainly of remnants of the Huk movement which was badly splintered after its defeat in the early 1960's.

Curiously, the rebels then seemed to enjoy a significant amount of prestige among major portions of the intelligentsia. They were not quite the "bunch of trigger-happy terrorists" as portrayed by the martial law press in later years. In fact, media accounts about the NPA then were mostly neutral in tone, while some even tended to be quite sympathetic to their cause and admiring of their military prowess.

On the other hand, the military then already had quite a tarnished image. Even before the declaration of martial law and the subsequent ascendance of Gen. Fabian Ver as Marcos's chief-of-staff, promotions in the AFP beyond the rank of major depended not on merit, but on either kinship, party affiliation, region of origin (preferably Ilocos), or plain patronage. Worse, as Corpus found out for himself, soldiers were compelled, either by economic hardship or sheer blind obedience, to serve in private armies of certain politicos, or even engage in illicit activities such as extortion and other common crimes on the side.

Yet that, to Vic, were but mere symptoms, not the disease. To be sure, he was already referring to the AFP as the "bourgeois army" or "puppet army" in his discussions with student activists, an indication of his level of disillusionment with the military and the intensity of his commitment to the national democratic cause even before his defection.

In that respect, the Corpus defection, it would seem, was inevitable. The same goes, perhaps, for the fact that when it finally happened, few cared to denounce his action, except for a handful of administration apologists who were always eager to please Marcos.

Indeed, Corpus even turned into a hero of sorts as soon as news of the PMA raid broke out. He became the new campus cult-hero; "VC" replaced "Kumander Dante" and "Amado Guerrero" as the new idol of the activist movement. Some even speculated, especially after a time, that Corpus was now the number two man in the NPA or that he himself was able to grab the top-ranking post from none other than Commander Dante.

But, in truth, Vic was neither of these two as the NPA did not really use rankings the way conventional armies usually do, he explains. In fact, he appears to have genuine respect for the abilities of Commander Dante, the lowly peasant tagged by the military as the NPA chief. "He really is very good. He is even better than me in target shooting," says he who graduated at the PMA as a gun expert and became a member of the PC shooting team while in the field.

Moreover, while Vic's PMA training was unquestionably a plus factor, he had to recast this to fit the peculiar requirements of guerrilla warfare and "people's war." "At first, it was really very difficult for me because I was never used to life in the mountains, for example, in walking barefoot in the forest. Lucky if we had slippers on, but at times, if you lose your slippers, *pasensya ka,*

[have patience]

you would have to walk barefoot through thorns."

"Then the food," Vic continues. "You had to get used to eating wild cat, deer, wild boar, wild chickens, fresh water fish, sometimes even bats, rats, and snakes... *Masarap din.*

[it's tasty, too]

Also, you had to get used to sleeping on makeshift beds made of scrap wood crudely joined together."

Fortunately for Vic, his wife Mely was able to join him immediately on the very day of the PMA raid. If anything, that had certainly eased the loneliness he felt in the mountains of Isabela where the first NPA Base Area was established, in the style of Mao's First Mountain Base in Changsha, China. There, Vic and Mely conceived their second child Camilo who follows Victor Chelia (after Che Guevarra and Lin Biao), born less than three weeks before Corpus's defection. Victor Jr. was left to the care of Vic's parents while Mely took care of Camilo right there in the mountains.

In the NPA, Vic proved his mettle as a very good fighter. Going straight to Isabela after his defection, Corpus was assigned to a mobile training team whose main job was to train new recruits. Vic recalls being transferred from one squad to another to train the NPAs in handling weapons and in conducting raids and ambuscades.

Then came his most memorable combat experience with the MV Karagatan case, a shipment of arms for the rebels but which was intercepted by government troops. Vic was assigned to lead a survey team that was supposed to scan the area and clear the way for the arrival of a main contingent of about 100 NPAs, which as planned would be the one to haul off the arms from the ship while Vic's group would go back to Isabela as soon as they came.

At that time, Vic had no inkling that a shipment of arms was coming but he went on with his mission anyway. He had with him some 20 men, along with four Itas who served as their guide. It took more or less two weeks for them to traverse the Sierra Madre before they got to the Karagatan landing site. For several days, they waited for the main contingent which apparently got lost on the way so they sent back the Ita guides to fetch them.

Nevertheless, when the Karagatan finally arrived, it was Vic and his men just the same who had to unload the ship's cargo — just as the main party came. However, at that same moment, a government reconnaissance plane passed by the area and spotted them. In a matter of hours, government troops were arriving by the thousands and the rebels were being bombed and shot at from shore, from air, and from land. The NPAs thus were forced to retreat even without recovering most of the arms aboard the Karagatan.

Vic and his men allowed the main contingent to retreat first while his team lured the government soldiers away from the bigger group. The main party was able to return to Isabela safely, but Vic and his men had to take the longer route through Quirino and around the Sierra Madre as government troops continued to pursue them. "*Katakut-takot na bakbakan,*" Vic recalls, in what seems to be the only way he could describe the ordeal. "We organized as we went along, so that those among us who died were easily replaced by new recruits." In fact, by the time they were able to return to Isabela, his men now numbered 60 compared to the original 15 to 20 in the survey team.

["A fierce firefight,"]

After Karagatan, following martial law, Corpus was rumored to have been leading the NPAs in Sierra Madre at the height of the government's first annihilation campaign from late 1972 to 1974. This was not true, Vic says now. He was in fact bedridden at the time as a result of a bullet wound he suffered in the course of earlier clashes with government troops.

The only thing he knew then was that the NPAs were forced to disperse according to the Maoist principle: "When the enemy concentrates, you disperse." "Some went to Quirino, some went to Kalinga-Apayao, some went to Cagayan," Vic recalls. "You may call it a blessing in disguise. From there, our base area expanded not only in Isabela but spread to other provinces as well."

In 1975, Vic admits having been selected as member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. At about this time, he attended a Plenum meeting of the Central Committee, wherein the document "Our Urgent Tasks" was drafted. In the following year, he was supposed to be sent to Mindanao but got stuck in an underground safehouse somewhere in Manila.

While waiting for the courier who was to fetch him, Vic decided to call up his parents whom he had obviously missed so much in all the year he was with the NPA. It was then that he learned that his wife had been captured in 1973, after he sent her home to take care of Camilo who got sick at the time. Next, it came upon him to visit his parents and he was arrested just as he was about to enter the gate.

The rest is 10 long years of isolation, though he was never physically tortured and was allowed to be with his wife and children in prison. He was released by the Aquino government last March 1, and now intends to return to military service — not to fight the NPAs but to teach again at the PMA. "I no longer have the urge to rebel against the government," Vic remarked when asked whether the thought occurred to him of rejoining his comrades in the hills.

One thing for sure though, Corpus remains very much committed to the ideals that drove him to take up arms against the establishment in the first place. "Joining the underground is a real sacrifice," he explains. "This was true not only for me, but for everybody else in the movement, especially those who willingly gave up their lives. And I really admire them. They should also be regarded as heroes. They should never be forgotten."

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BERNAS COLUMN ON CHECKS, BALANCES IN GOVERNMENT

Quezon City VERITAS in English 13 Apr 86 pp 5, 6

["Occasional Reflections by Joaquin G. Bernas, S.J.: "Of Checks and Balances and Normalization"]

[Text]

IT IS only logical, and even salutary, that the indictment pronounced by Cory Aquino before the joint Rotary Clubs of Metro Manila at the Manila Hotel on January 23, 1986, should now be waved before her by those who would put down Proclamation No. 3. She said then:

> *The foundation of the Marcos dictatorial regime is the total destruction of the old system of checks and balances. I admit that the old system was not perfect. But at least it gave to the judiciary and to the legislature a generous measure of respectability. That is not so any more.*
>
> *The Constitution now allows Mr. Marcos through Amendment 6 to push aside the legislature in order to give way to his decrees. The will of Mr. Marcos has become law.*
>
> *The Constitution now allows Mr. Marcos to pack the Supreme Court with his classmates and fraternity brothers. The will of Mr. Marcos has become jurisprudence.*
>
> *The Constitution allows him to pack the Commission on Elections with people whose mathematical wizardry will ensure his electoral victories. The will of Mr. Marcos has become the arbiter of all electoral contests.*
>
> *And who appoints generals and decides how long before a soldier can retire? Mr. Marcos.*
>
> *The appointing power today is a menace. Unchecked by any other authority and not subject to review or public scrutiny, it has enabled the dictator to fill the most sensitive positions of government with officials whose primary qualification is loyalty to the President. Such a convenient arrangement has solidified the President's hold on absolute power, and it is evident that he finds absolute power absolutely delightful.*

The structural elements that supported the Marcos dictatorship are now in Proclamation No. 3. Proclamation No. 3 allows President Aquino to legislate all by her lonely. It allows her to pack the Supreme Court and the Constitutional Commissions with people of her choice. She also appoints and promotes generals and decides when to retire them. She also has unlimited appointing authority and even now it has begun to give her trouble and embarrassment. Has she, because of all these, become a dictator *in fact?*

The atmosphere we find ourselves in now is one of freedom, not dictatorship. She has not clamped jail sentences on political opponents; she has in fact freed political prisoners. She has not arrogated unto herself the power to arrest without the formalities of "probable cause"; she has in fact lifted the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus and dismantled the dreaded PDA. She has not closed radio and television stations and newspapers; media in fact has been liberated and criticism of the regime is dispensed freely and generously.

Clearly, Marcos' reign was a dictatorship in fact; equally clearly, however, Aquino's presidency under a legal structure not unlike Marcos' is not yet perceived as a dictatorship in fact, except largely by the defenders of the Marcos dictatorship. Prescinding from differences of character make-up of Mr. Marcos and Mr. Aquino, where lies the difference between her rule now and Marcos' of yesterday?

Time is one factor of difference. Marcos had twenty years; Aquino has not yet had two months. Time allowed Mr. Marcos to consolidate his forces, dethrone his enemies, and fill key positions with his clones. Aquino has not yet had time to do the same — if her intention is to do the same.

Motivation is another. Marcos said that his goal was to crush a rebellion; hence he had to use strong arm methods — martial law, suspension of the privilege of the writ, military might, draconian decrees. Aquino says that her goal is to liberate; and every indication is that she means what she says. Hence she refuses to use the draconian measures Marcos found indispensable for his ends.

Hindsight could not guide Marcos when he started; and when hindsight could have served him, he either ignored the lessons it taught or found the lessons too late for comfortable use. In Mrs. Aquino's case, however, hindsight allows her to see the ravages self-serving dictatorship can do to people. Hindsight also allows her to feel what it means to be victim.

Marcos began his authoritarian march confronted by a stunned citizenry and supported by a military arm that had not yet learned to ask why. Aquino on the other hand was catapulted to power by an awakened citizenry, and must continue to deal with an awakened citizenry and with a military that has gone through a baptism of an agonizing moral choice between obedience to an erring ruler and fidelity to conscience and to people's welfare.

There are other differences, I am sure. But I am not sure that the differences will be enough to sustain democracy for long under a structure that lends itself to dictatorship. The President herself may be able to resist temptation; but she is not alone in the exercise of power. Power, when tasted as delightful, easily corrupts. If the structural weaknesses of the present system are allowed to last long, even if Mrs. Aquino herself does not fall prey to decay, others around her surely will.

And the appointing power! Under Marcos, Mrs. Aquino called it "a menace." Under her, it can equally be a menace. She has a million positions to fill, some of them of the most sensitive kind. Like Marcos she can fill them with unthinking clones and political sycophants. Can she avoid it? She better do. And she will have a better chance of not misusing her appointing authority if she allows the screening process to be conducted under the glare of bright lights.

Are there checks and balances now?

The Batasan is no more; but as check, the old Batasan will not be sorely missed.

Will the judiciary function as a check? Yes, but only if she convinces her appointees that their mandate is not to be her apologists and cheerleaders.

Will media be allowed to continue as a check? Will people power be allowed to be a check? Will the constitutional commissions finally be reorganized so that they can function as checks and not as extensions of the presidential arm?

I, like millions of other Filipinos, earnestly hope that the Aquino government will not disappoint us.

Proclamation No. 3 envisions the possibility of a transition to normal constitutional processes within a period of one year. Every effort must be made to ensure that the waiting will not be prolonged. For this, the proper organization of the Constitutional Commission will be key. People are now asking what steps are being taken to get the Commission on the road. Proclamation No. 3 says that she will appoint members of the Commission "after consultation with various sectors of society." How will this consultation be organized? How much thought is being given to making the Commission's work reflective of the desires of the people in general and not just of a small group of appointees?

The President has a whole year to reorganize the government. She has less than fifty days remaining to organize a credible Constitutional Commission which will be the bridge to normalization.

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SINGAPORE

INCREASED TRADE, AGREEMENTS WITH CHINA SOUGHT

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 28 Apr 86 p 21

[Article by Karim Shukor]

[Text]

"SINGAPORE as the commercial gateway to China" — this is a new sales pitch by the island republic to profit from Beijing's open door policy on trade.

A new counter trade approach by Singaporeans, this slogan potrays their country as *the* passageway to China.

Last week a three-day conference on Singapore being "the conduit" to business success was held here.

Many governmental and business officials are optimistic of the impending success in the "China deal."

The optimism is based on two reasons: first it was China which sought support from Singapore to aid in its march towards technological progress.

The other is because Singapore is determined to secure the increasing trade contracts with China, both through government and private sector efforts, ahead of their Asian peers with the exception of Japan.

Optimism aside,, some have reservations over the rigidities of rules and regulations in China.

But on the plus side again an official said Singapore has a very close and prolonged trade history with China.

Today China is Singapore's fifth largest trading partner with S$5.7 billion worth of trade last year compared to only S$1.3 billion in 1979, an increase of more than 300 per cent.

Tax purposes

The signing of the China-Singapore trade agreement in 1979, the establishment of a Singapore commercial office in Beijing in 1981, and most recently, the signing of investment protection and tourism agreements, reflect the increasing trade ties between the two countries.

Last week both countries signed the avoidance of double taxation treaty, described by officials here as one of the most liberal for both countries designed to encourage foreigners to use Singapore as a base to set up joint ventures.

Under the treaty, China has allowed companies resident in Singapore for tax purposes. Those which hold more than 25 per cent in an enterprise in China only have to pay a concessionary tax of 7 per cent of their dividend. This provision is not found in any other treaties that China has entered into.

Singapore is determined to break into the Chinese market in a big way. So far a total of 91 projects worth of S$414 million had been concluded between both countries at the end of last year.

Figures indicate that Singapore was the most active among Asean countries in the field of economic cooperation with China, said a Chinese official who attended last week's conference.

It is believed that most of the projects are in hotels, construction, engineering, offshore oil exploration, electronics, factory upgrading, tourism and trading.

One businessman said that more efforts is needed to prise open the China market as the Chinese are known for "driving a hard bargain" and cannot be taken for granted by what they have said.

It was felt that that since Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew's visit to China last September, contacts between Chinese and Singaporean officials have increased.

Mr Lee's visit to Australia and New Zealand last week also included some agreements for joint venture and new business opportunities in China.

Urgency

These agreements will seek out the synergistic business opportunities in China which are either beyond the capabilities of Singapore, New Zealand and Australia acting alone, or which can be better pursued in partnership.

The officials also said that Singaporeans with their understanding of the language and culture of China would have an advantage, especially for the multinational corporations.

Other than the largest companies, few foreigners could afford the long-term commitment to gradually develop the relationships to work to China.

The chairman of Singapore Trade Development Board, S. Chandra Das, said besides incorporating technology transfer and training, companies should be imaginative in offering financing that will help conserve China's limited foreign exchanges.

Another businessman who has business dealings in China said there is urgency for Singaporean companies to familiarise themselves with counter trade. Trade figures show that 53 per cent of Singapore's exports last year were derived from counter trade. — Bernama ES

/9317
CSO: 4200/1066

CYCLONE DEATH TOLL STANDS AT 71, WITH 90,000 HOMELESS

BK230219 Hong Kong AFP in English 0201 GMT 23 May 86

[Text] Sydney, Australia, May 23 (AFP)--Hot weather and water pollution in the Solomon Islands posed serious health problems Friday after a devastating cyclone which left at least 71 people dead and 90,000 people homeless, officials said.

Authorities in the capital, Honiara, said the islands were littered with the carcasses of dead animals, which could breed disease, and that food, water, medicine and shelter were in extremely short supply.

A spokesman for the disaster council in Honiara told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE by telephone that the death toll from Cyclone Namu stood at 71, with 25 people missing.

The rains had stopped and more bodies were turning up, officials said. "We are moving more food supplies to the worst-hit areas, using helicopters and coastal boats," said disaster council spokesman John Diaro. "We are now facing very hot weather, which will cause many health risks," he said.

Mr Diaro said carcasses from drowned cattle and poultry posed serious problems. Water supplies for many villages had been polluted with mud. He said homeless islanders were making their way to airfields, ports and mission stations for assistance.

The Solomon Islands Government said 90,000 of the island's 275,000 population had lost their homes in the cyclone, which reached wind speeds of more than 115 kilometers (71.3 miles) an hour.

Two Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) helicopters, flown in Thursday by the Australian Government, continued to drop supplies to villages cut off by receding flood waters. Mr Diaro said the helicopters were also flying more police to outlying islands in the 1,400-kilometer (868-mile) long Pacific Ocean archipelago to assist in relief work and to send damage reports back to Honiara.

Rescue workers Thursday found the bodies of 38 people after the central Guadalcanal village of Valebaibai was wiped out in a mudslide. The villages of Babanakira and Suta were also destroyed.

Rescuers were searching through mud at the villages Friday after the bodies of 26 people were found and another nine people drowned in flooded rivers.

Meanwhile, the Australian Government had given 1.5 million dollars (about $1.1 million U.S.) in emergency aid, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) $75,000, and the International Human Assistance Program $20,000.

Immediate assistance had also come from embassies and high commissions in Honiara including Britain, Taiwan, New Zealand, the European community, the United States and Japan.

Two more RAAF C-130 transport planes were scheduled to leave Sydney and Brisbane early Friday with further food and medical supplies. One aircraft was delayed by several hours because of mechanical problems.

An Australian High Commission spokesman in Honiara said 57 Australians and New Zealanders were flown out from the islands Thursday and another 40 were expected Friday.

/12858
CSO: 4200/1069

CRITICAL REACTION TO U.S. LIBYA RAID, U.N. VOTE CONTINUES

Columnist Scores U.S. Response

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 28 Apr 86 p 8

[Article by Phichian Khurathong: "The Godfather and the Follower"]

[Text] It seems that the United States, our great ally, is very angry over the fact that the Thai government voted in favor of the motion condemning the United States for bombing Libya.

Mr Bernard Kalb, the spokesman for the U.S. State Department, stated that the "United States is very disappointed that such an old and trusted friend as Thailand would vote to condemn the United States even though the United States took the action it did in order to protect itself against Libyan terrorism, which has not been condemned." In another part of his statement, Mr Kalb said that "we explained things to the Thai government and asked for their support on this issue, which is very important to us. But Thailand voted to condemn us. We have informed the Thai government of our great disappointment. (As for what may happen), I don't want to speculate about the situation."

This short statement by the spokesman for the U.S. Department of State reveals several things. The first is the unequal nature or our relationship. The United States plays the role of elder brother; Thailand is the younger brother. The United States has given Thailand much help and, therefore, Thailand is supposed to follow the United States. Whenever our older brother, or godfather, gives an order or makes a request, we are supposed to obey. When we failed to obey, they were so upset that they threatened us with the words "(As for what may happen), I don't want to speculate about the situation." I added the words in parentheses, but if the parentheses were removed the meaning would remain the same.

Second, the United States regards Thailand as an old and reliable friend. Thus, an ally such as Thailand does not have the right to think or act independently. It must always listen to and obey its friend, the United States.

Mr Kalb was not the only one who expressed displeasure. Another U.S. official who was unhappy was Mr John Whitehead, the U.S. assistant secretary of state.

He told the House Foreign Relations Subcommittee that Thailand "should be sharply criticized" for voting to condemn the United States since Thailand has such close relations with the United States.

Besides this, another State Department official told AP--AP did not reveal the name of this official--that Thailand's vote "shows the need to reconsider all aspects of our relationship. In general, our relations are good. But we will never forget (Thailand's vote)."

This same State Department official reminded us of our obligation to the United States, saying that the United States has provided Thailand with help worth $110 million this fiscal year. The United States considers itself to be Thailand's benefactor. The United States expects Thailand to repay these favors. But because Thailand was not able to stand by the United States on this issue, U.S. officials are so angry that they have said that "we will never forget."

Let's look at the Thai side of this for a moment. In the view of people throughout the world, Thailand's decision to vote for the motion condemning the United States shows that Thailand enjoys sufficient prestige and honor to play a major role in international political circles instead of being regarded as the follower of the United States. Having enough prestige to prevent others from insulting you in the eyes of the world can be considered to be in the nation's interests. This concerns the nation's political image on the world stage.

As for other benefits, various observers, including UN diplomats, have pointed out that Thailand must consider the fate of the 30,000 Thai workers in Libya. If Thailand sides with the United States on this issue, that is tantamount to abandoning the Thai workers in Libya. This is another point noted by analysts.

But some people point to the Farm Act. The Reagan government has set rice prices without paying any attention to the appeals made by Thailand. It has done this without any thought for its old and reliable friend. Thus, the Thai government must give priority to the nation's interests.

Thailand's decision to vote for the motion condemning the United States may actually benefit Thailand. In particular, Thailand will have to sell rice to the Arab countries in the future. Thailand will have to make a great effort to sell its rice during the Farm Act war launched by our old and trusted friend.

It's strange that Thailand's long and friendly relationship with the United States has suddenly become so strained. What is worrisome is that we don't know whether U.S. officials are so enraged that they will try to damage the present Thai administration. There are many examples of the United States taking such action against other countries and so it isn't necessary to waste time talking about them. If the officials in the Reagan administration can't eliminate their godfather feelings, the Prem government and the Thai people must be prepared to deal with internal might of the United States.

Labor Leader Scores U.S. Foreign Policy

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 26 Apr 86 p 6

[Letters column by Prayun Bunyawichit, the vice president of the Petroleum Authority of Thailand Labor Union: "The Real Nature of the United States and Thailand's Fear of Offending"]

[Text] The cowboy country has finally shown its true nature to Thailand by implementing the Farm Act. It has paid no attention at all to the protests by various units and people from all walks of life.

To be fair, the Farm Act is a law that was promulgated legally. They have the right to protect and help their farmers. It is the government's duty to relieve the suffering of the people. After all, the people are paying taxes to the state. The well-being of the people is the basic administrative policy of each country. Thus, it is wrong to blame just the United States for the Farm Act. Actually, the Thai government is to blame, too. In every period, the Thai government has been very honest with the United States. Thailand's economy has been tied to the United States ever since 1855, when we signed the Bowring Treaty, which put us at a disadvantage.

Later on, civilian governments (some of whose members had studied abroad) used Western policies as an example in changing the country's administration. The result was economic bankruptcy. Still later, Thailand joined SEATO, which was headed by the United States (actually, this was based on the NATO model in Europe). The government hoped to rely on the military and economic power of the United States.

As for the evil of the Americans in former times, they invaded the land of the native peoples, that is, the Red Indians. They used their intelligence, weapons and other advantages to kill Red Indians and expel them from their fertile lands. They then shamelessly occupied this land. This is evident from many of the movies made in the United States. They wanted to make the people of the world think that the Red Indians were savages. But the truth is that the Indians hated the Whites for taking their land and killing their people.

The United States has never shown any compassion for anyone anywhere. The millions of Japanese who died at Hiroshima and Nagasaki are examples of this. Thousands of Thai died fighting in Korea, Vietnam and Laos. Why? Because the United States wanted to be the big power in this region. But today the United States has forgotten these Thai. The Thai people should remember this lesson.

Today, the United States is killing Thai farmers in cold blood. I don't know how the present Thai administration feels about this. If it continues to be afraid of offending the United States, it can't expect to win the 1987 election.

Columnist: Thai Policies Too Close to U.S.

Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 25 Apr 86 p 5

[Ride the Red Horse column by Chan Hanu]

[Text] Thailand's foreign policy finally became free and independent only 2 days ago when ML [royal title--FBIS] Phriphong Kasemsi, Thailand's permanent representative at the United Nations who now holds a temporary seat on the UN Security Council in the name of Thailand, voted at a Security Council meeting to condemn the United States for bombing Libya. Thailand's vote astonished Washington because it never dreamed that Thailand would go against the United States like this.

Ever since the United Nations was established, Thailand has always followed the lead of the United States in voting on UN resolutions. We have served as the underling of the United States. The forces in the jungle at that time constantly charged that Thailand acted like a dog serving its master, the United States. During the Seni, Khukrit and Prem 1-4 administrations, Thailand's representative to the United Nations has always voted the same way as the United States. It has never opposed the United States. At most, it has abstained from voting.

Recent Thai administrations have stated that Thailand will implement a policy of neutrality. But we have never been neutral. We have just claimed to be neutral. But actually we have sided with and followed the lead of the United States. Thailand's UN vote condemning the United States was the first time that we have startled people in Washington. They never dreamed that would happen. That was quite a shock.

Mr Bernard Kalb, the spokesman for the U.S. State Department, attacked Thailand, saying that we had betrayed the United States even though the United States had trusted Thailand as one of its closest allies. He told Thailand to think about what it had done and informed us that the United States is very upset. Look at what they have said.

I remember that it was Mr Bernard Kalb who boasted that the U.S. State Department had advance knowledge of the 9 September rebellion in Thailand. He boasted that the United States knew about the planned rebellion even before the Thai government. This spokesman speaks out even more sharply than our spokesman, Mr Trairong Suwannakhiri. He is not at all polite.

The United States has expressed displeasure with Thailand. That is despicable. The United States is concerned only about its own interests. It does not care about the problems of the Thai people. An example is the Farm Act. But I don't see how Thailand's opposition to U.S. actions in Libya hurts the United States. Americans still have plenty of food to eat and are as fat as ever. But because of the U.S. Farm Act, Thai farmers will starve. The United States implemented the Farm Act without giving any thought to how this would affect its ally. But when its ally expressed a little opposition to U.S. actions and refused to vote the way the United States wanted, the United

States started making threats. You... son of a bitch. It's necessary to curse them using honky talk.

We aren't stupid. Let me tell you. If we persisted in following the lead of the United States and constantly supported them, we couldn't sell our rice in the Middle East or Africa. Who would buy from an underling of the United States? In particular, Libya and the other Arab countries would definitely want to punish Thailand. There are large numbers of Thai workers in Libya and other Middle Eastern countries. They would be sent packing, and unemployment would increase even more.

Even though Mr Sitthi Sawetsila becomes angry easily, I think that our new foreign policy is a very good policy. From what I know, we took the action we did with a heavy heart. We did not really want to vote to condemn the United States. But we had to in order to protect our own interests. We do not want to create enemies among the Arab countries in the Middle East. We want them to know that we are friends of the Moslem countries and of the Moslem people both here and abroad. We don't want anyone carrying on terrorist activities here. The United States won't stay angry for very long. Actually, they are afraid of a "real man." And we have shown them that we are a "real man."

Columnist Hails UN Vote on Libyan Raid

Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 25 Apr 86 p 2

[Around the World column by Trairat: "Thailand Is Not the Slave of the United States"]

[Text] For the first time, Thailand has protested and struck back at the United States instead of allowing the United States to harass us at will. Thailand has been like a chick caught in their talons. The United States immediately raised a hue and cry about this. They never dreamed that a close friend such as Thailand would vote for the UN Security Council resolution condemning them for their attack on Libya. During the voting, 8 of the 15 members of the Security Council voted to condemn the United States, winning by a whisker. When Thailand became the ninth country to vote in favor of the motion, that gave Uncle Sam's beard a real tug. The United States then vetoed the motion. But even so, the vote gave the American giant quite a jolt. This is a sign that U.S. influence has declined greatly. Even Thailand rose up and condemned its great ally. From now on, if the United States views Thailand as insignificant, Thailand's opposition and reaction on various fronts will have an adverse effect on the United States.

The U.S. State Department spokesman acted despicably when he criticized Thailand and said that the United States would never forget this. He added that the United States will have to consider various measures to retaliate against Thailand. In playing with the Uncle Sam, you have to play hardball and never let down. Otherwise, the Eagle will never stop harassing you. We have to make ourselves important. If the United States wants something from us, it will have to give us something in exchange. It can't just take whatever it wants or make payoffs to a few senior people.

We have been hit with the Farm Act. Actually, we have done very little to retaliate against the United States. There is no need to use our old crazy custom when protesting. No other country couches its protest in the form of a request. That is useless. It's just a waste of time and effort. It's like a child playing merchant. To protest effectively, you have to express real anger and show that you "mean business."

The United States claims that it attacked Libya in order to protect its citizens and to retaliate in the interests of the United States. But Thailand has condemned them for killing large numbers of children, women and elderly people. They used force to solve a problem. We are opposed to that, because it will just lead to greater violence.

Thailand did the right thing. There are about 100,000 Thai working in Arab countries. We have to protect our interests. What is clear is that the United States used its power to bully a small country in order to restore its tarnished reputation following the Vietnam War. The United States has bullied Libya, and even Thailand has been hit with the Farm Act. The use of force to solve the problems is wrong. Thailand has the right to condemn this regardless of how strong that country is. And as a member of the UN Security Council, we must be the ears, eyes and mouth of the peoples of the world. That is the proper way for us to act. The peoples of the world will stop looking down on Thailand as the underling of the United States, whom they can pull in any direction they want. Thailand must be free. It must not be a slave.

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CSO: 4207/225

NEW FORCE PARTY LEADERS DISCUSS PROBLEMS, POLICY

Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 13 Apr 86 p 3

[Sunday Open the Window column by Saengchai Sunthonwat: "The New Force Party"]

[Excerpts] On 29 March, the New Force Party, which was the party of scholars, university instructors and students in the period immediately following the events of 14 October 1973 and which played a major role for a short period and then faded into obscurity, elected a new party leader and executive committee. I talked with Professor Prasan Tangchai, the new party leader, and Mr Wichit Amphonphisit, a new member of the party executive committee, about the party.

"When did you begin playing a really active role in politics," I asked Professor Prasan Tangchai.

"Actually, I have been interested in politics ever since I was a child. I began working for the people when I was a university student. After the events of 14 October 1973, instructors from Chulalongkorn, Kaesetsat and Thammasat universities began to work together. At that time, I was an instructor in the Faculty of Medicine, Chulalongkorn University. Dr Pui, Dr Wiraphong Ramangkun, Kr Pramot Nakhonsap and several other people used to meet to discuss political issues. This was a group of progressive people. The group was called the Prachatham group. This was around the end of 1973. Shortly after that, I resigned my position to engage in politics full time. We registered our group as the New Force Party in 1974. Dr Krasae Chanawong was the party leader."

"Did you cause a stir when you established the party?"

"Not too much. But people did start to take an interest in us. Our party was the party of new hope. At first, most party members were scholars. But then more and more progressive administrators began to join the party. We developed our political ideas. Before that, we had had a long string of dictatorial administrations. The people were tired of this. We hoped to build something new for the people. We captured people's attention when party members ran for election in August 1975. Twelve of our members were elected MP. Our party began to play a larger role, and various factions began to take a greater interest in us."

"You created quite a stir in Bangkok during the gubernatorial election. You competed against the Democrat Party, isn't that right?"

"That's right. We were a new party and didn't have much money. But we unexpectedly won 12 seats in parliament. No one had expected us to do that well. We felt that we were capable of administering things and so we fielded Dr Athit Urairat and his slate in the gubernatorial race. We lost to the Democrats by only 9,000 votes. Because of this, many people began to fear our party."

"At that time, some people said that the New Force Party was a communist party."

"They were just using smear tactics. That was done by other parties that feared the rapid growth of the New Force Party. We didn't know how to fight them because most of our members were government officials and scholars. We weren't professional politicians. People did not yet understand the difference between communism and socialism. We used the word socialism openly in reference to our welfare policy. The scholars in the party wanted to do things openly. We did not want to hide anything. No one understood that we meant democratic socialism, which stresses a social welfare system like that in Sweden. People attacked us viciously. We did not retaliate. That is, we could not play politics the way they were. And so our popularity began to decline."

"That shows that the Thai people do not like communism."

"Definitely. But the New Force Party is not a communist party. The people have seen the situation in neighboring countries. The people love democracy with the king at the head. There is no way for the communists to win. At that time, the more we joined forces with the students, the more we were attacked. We did not have a chance to correct people's views."

"But you did join the Kriangsak administration, isn't that right?"

"Actually, every administration asked us to join the government. But we always refused. But we did join the Kriangsak 1 government. We held the public health portfolio. After that, the party began to split apart. The New Force Party, which had been growing, was destroyed. In 1975 we had 12 seats in parliament. By 1979 the number had dropped to eight, and in 1983 we did not have any seats in parliament."

"How many members does the party have nationwide?"

"Several tens of thousands. The number today is about the same as it was in the past. After Dr Krasae resigned, Mr Somwang Sichai replaced him as party leader for two terms. After that, Mr Suthep Wongkamhaeng served as party leader. We elect a party leader and executive committee every 2 years. This year I was elected."

"You are a professor. But this job will be as difficult as restoring life to a dead person."

"I don't think that the New Force Party has died. We are still alive and breathing even if our breathing is rather soft. We have been quiet because the situation has not been favorable for reviving the party. This party has great integrity. We are trying to attract knowledgeable and capable people to the party, people such as Mr Santhan Suriyakham, the new secretary general of the party, and Mr Wichit Amphonphisit, an activist and lawyer who has been elected to the party executive committee. At the same time, we have revised our policies on matters concerning the lives of the people, on the rice, sugar cane and sugar problems and so on."

"Some of today's advisors to the prime minister are members of the New Force Party. Why haven't they put forward some of the party's ideas? What are you waiting for?"

"I think that several ideas have been implemented. But it is still not the same as if we were in control. We don't have any MPs in parliament."

"You will have to field candidates in the next election. Where will you get the money? Will any senior military officers join the party?

"Money will probably be a major problem. Some of the money will come from the members. Some will come from holding seminars. We do have the support of some military officers. In the past, we made a policy mistake. We did not have a united front. We need to have military officers in the party."

"How many seats do you hope to win in the next election?"

"If we win about 20 seats we will have a chance to implement our policy to serve the nation."

"In which region of the country are you strongest?"

"In the northeast. That is a dry area with many chronic economic problems. When we talk with the people there, they believe us."

"As a member of the party executive committee, what troubles you [Mr Wichit] about restoring the party? Will the party be labeled communist again?"

"I am very optimistic about the party. Mr Santhan Suriyakham, the new secretary general of the party, is a very resolute man. Our party definitely has a future. As for communism, that is a dictatorial system of government. Under communism, the people do not have the right to determine their own future. The New Force Party has a clear policy of opposing all forms of dictatorship. We could not be communists. We strongly support democracy with the king at the head. Personally, I favor ending all trade restrictions and allowing free trade. I think that the people understand our party."

The political field is becoming very lively. The New Force Party is another party to watch. Several of Prime Minister Prem's advisors belong to this party. Could this be one of Prem's parties? Or perhaps Prem will even run for election as a member of this party.

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ACADEMIC ON REASONS FOR PARLIAMENTARIANS' INEFFECTIVENESS

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 22 Apr 86 p 7

[Interview with Professor Kroekkiet Phiphatseritham, the vice director for academic affairs, Thammasat University; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] [Question] Are today's political parties still trying to preserve the interests of businessmen?

[Answer] That's definitely true of some parties. I won't mention their names. In general, MPs do not play a large enough role in matters that should concern them. Instead, they are deeply involved in matters concerning personal interests or the interests of their group. The people must monitor their activities and vote for other people in the next election.

[Question] The quality of today's MPs is not as good as it should be.

[Answer] Let's not say that. There are still many bad MPs. There are several reasons for this. Some are not politically aware and do not really understand what the role of an MP should be. Others are uneducated, or they have not developed themselves. Another reason is the MPs don't have the knowledge or tools to do their job, with the result that MPs lack quality. I don't think that any of these things are too serious. They can all be corrected. Some MPs run for election with the aim of making money. This is the group that I hate. I want people to monitor these MPs. There are such MPs.

There are many good MPs. The percentage has increased. They are educated. They follow things, report on the work and fulfill their duties as MPs. If the people, scholars and mass media support this group of MPs, we will have more efficient MPs.

[Question] What about bad MPs who are elected and their supporters?

[Answer] Such people are re-elected because the people don't really know what these MPs have been doing. If people monitor the activities of this group of MPs, they will have little chance of being re-elected. It will be difficult to get rid of these people in the short term. But after several more elections, if the people become more aware and the mass media provides correct information, these MPs will gradually disappear.

[Question] Are you saying that the stability of the government and its ability to solve the country's economic problems depends on the efficiency of the political parties?

[Answer] The political parties are very important for bringing order to the political system. Our political parties are not perfect political parties. They have just begun to develop and acquire greater knowledge. There are still people who are seeking profits. Our political parties are still in their infancy because democracy has had such frequent ups and downs. Only recently has there been a sustained period of democracy. There has been a sustained period of development only since the administration of Gen Kriangsak. If this continues for another 4 or 8 years, I think that democracy and the political parties will grow much stronger and there will be greater order. At the same time, if the people become more aware, popular pressure will force the political parties onto the right track, and they will play politics according to the rules. The political system will be more efficient. The prime minister or administration will be changed using the apparatus of the democratic system. The problems that once arose in England will not arise here. I think that the foundation of the political parties is important. But the political parties must develop as political parties. They must not become political groups that are interested only in making profits. I did not call them interest groups.

[Question] What is the objective in holding this seminar?

[Answer] The government's policies and measures affect the lives, standard of living and rights of the people. They affect their interests. We want to discuss these things in order to find out what interest groups there are in Thailand. We want to know what apparatus each interest group has for protecting its interests. We want to look at what roles the MPs are playing in profiting from the various groups. Even if the MPs hold different views and belong to different interest groups, if they agree that democracy and the interests of the majority come first, the various groups and the MPs will bargain and make compromises. I think that this is the way to develop the political system and democracy.

[Question] In carrying out their duties to solve the economic problems, are the MPs still playing a weak role?

[Answer] They are playing a very weak role in the various movements because of the following: 1. Because of the constitutional restrictions in proposing legislation to control the executive branch, the various economic subcommittees do not play the role that they should. 2. The poor quality and limited knowledge of the MPs who are interested in these problems reflect on the quality of the people who elected these MPs. 3. Few of the MPs really represent the people. Most of them represent interest groups. There are very few representatives of the farmers, laborers or middle-class. Because of restrictions both in and out of parliament, little is done to protect the interests of the majority of people. These people just follow the lead of the government or protect the political group to which they belong. This is very important.

[Question] Some MPs do not really understand the economic problems and so they vote for various laws. Others just want to protect their own interests and so they are not real economic representatives. What can be done about these people?

[Answer] Those who lack knowledge or quality but who have not become the tools of other people or groups can be developed. The organizations concerned can help them. They can be developed if the people monitor their activities. As for those who are interested in making profits, we must change their ideas before they can be called back. But if they refuse to change, people must not vote for them in the next election. The people must monitor things. The mass media is much less free than in the past. This is because political influences control everything. But this does not mean that nothing can be done. I think that something can be done. The people and MPs should take the middle path. If these groups buy off the mass media, I don't see any chance of developing.

[Question] Prem will still be prime minister after 1987, isn't that right?

[Answer] I don't want to say that. Prem may not be the best prime minister. But he is a prime minister whom we can accept. In 1987, before we replace him with someone else, we must see what type of person that person is. As Mr Uthai said, we have to decide whether we want to elect a heron or a frog. We must look first. I can't tell you who should be the next prime minister. Of all the politicians during the past 10 years, Prem has been the most important personality by far, especially in terms of honesty. It can't be denied that he is unambitious. He is a treasure who could head the government for a long time. He likes to compromise on political issues and matters concerning interests. He enjoys the confidence of the monarchy. He also has much prestige in the military even though he retired several years ago. He is not stubborn.

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COLUMNIST SUGGESTS CAUSES FOR BOMB BLAST

Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 11 Apr 86 p 2

[Around the World column by Trairat: "Taking Revenge Against the Americans"]

[Excerpts] The bomb that was set off in front of the Erawan Hotel was perhaps a sign that some Thai are strongly opposed to the United States. Or maybe this was the work of foreigners who hate the United States and who using every means available to strike at Americans.

If this was the work of Thai, it can be considered from several angles. Many Thai are very angry because of the improper actions being taken by the United States. They are persecuting Thailand on the trade front. And they have been insincere about several things. They have even compared Thailand with South Korea and Taiwan. Thailand benefits very little from the United States. The United States has taken large quantities of our natural resources. And it used our country for military purposes, leaving us to suffer the consequences after it withdrew.

Another possibility is that some groups may be upset with the United States for supporting the Thai government so openly. Because the United States controls many things.

Besides Libya, Iran, Lebanon, Nicaragua and other countries that are engaged in struggles all have serious problems with the United States and are constantly trying to take revenge. Thus, it is difficult for the United States to determine where the enemy is exactly. Some pretend to be friends but are really double-crossing them. Or perhaps the communists, who have long been enemies of the United States, are helping to stir up trouble.

In short, the United States is making more and more enemies. It has launched an economic war against various countries, including its allies. It is even trying to seize Thailand's rice and upland field crops markets. This shows that the policy of the United States is wrong. The giant should be careful, because it can be defeated by little people who are united. Today, wars are fought using various methods. The United States shouldn't think that it is superior to others. It will encounter more wars such as those in Libya and Lebanon.

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CSO: 4207/218

THAILAND

BRIEFS

PRINCE OFFERS UNIT'S AID--At 1200 hours on 9 April at the Bangkok Metropolitan administrative headquarters, Maj Gen Chamlong Simuang, the governor of Bangkok, talked with reporters about the strong storm that hit the city a few days ago. He said that out of concern for the well-being of the people of the city, the Crown Prince asked a representative of the Government House to inform the city that if Bangkok Metropolitan needs men to help solve the flood problem, he will send royal pages to provide help and prevent the city from experiencing problems as a result of flooding. Maj Gen Chamlong said that, as the governor of Bangkok Metropolitan, he is delighted by the Crown Prince's concern for the people of Bangkok and his offer to provide help. [Excerpt] [Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 10 Apr 86 pp 1, 20] 11943

CSO: 4207/218

LINI DISCUSSES FRENCH, U.S. 'TERRORISM'

BK211020 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0810 GMT 21 May 86

[From the "International Report" program moderated by (Gabriel Lafitt)]

[Text] Vanuatu's determination to pursue an independent foreign policy regularly causes anxiety in governments in the South Pacific. Father Walter Lini--Vanuatu's prime minister--calls his foreign policy nonaligned. What most concerns other countries is Vanuatu's relations with the Soviet Union and Libya. Does this mean terrorism is likely to spread into the South Pacific? Father Lini says there is nothing to fear, as reporter (Richard Calvin) found when he asked Father Lini what he means by nonalignment:

[Begin recording] [Lini] Our policy of nonalignment has put us in a position where we regard every member of the United Nations as an independent government and which also gives us the right to establish diplomatic relations with them if we decided to, and because of this, in our view, the program that we have worked out for this year is to have a list from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which includes Libya, United States, and Soviet Union to be all considered at one time, and if our Council of Ministers decides that we establish diplomatic relations with these countries this year, that is our right to decide. As far as terrorism is concerned, we do not consider Libya as a terrorist nation. We consider France, in this region, is a terrorist government because of the bombing of the "Rainbow Warrior" and because of the fact that a court of law has found that France was responsible for the bombing and the government gave authority. As far as we are concerned, too, until America and other countries have proven in a court of law that Libya has, in fact, been a terrorist state, who would believe, in our view, unless it is tested by a court we cannot believe what criticism, what allegations have been made about any country if they are involved in terrorism [sentence as heard]. As far as we are concerned too, the fact that America bombed Libyan cities and killed children and women is also a terrorist act. We in Vanuatu cannot really see how you could accuse Libya of being a terrorist nation and not accuse France as a terrorist nation, and not accuse United States as a terrorist nation. [end recording]

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CSO: 4200/1068

COALITION GOVERNMENT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

SIHANOUK VIEWED AS HAVING SERIOUS HEALTH PROBLEMS

Bangkok THE NATION in English 3 Apr 86 p 3

[Text]

PEKING — Prince Norodom Sihanouk, head of the anti-Vietnamese Kampuchean guerrilla coalition, has serious health problems including high cholesterol and kidney trouble, according to his doctor.

The report, passed on to Reuters yesterday by the prince's office, included excerpts from the report of Dr Georges Pathe, based on results of a check-up carried out during Sihanouk's 10-day stay in a Peking hospital last month.

The report carried a hand-written message from the prince saying the report indicated: "I have some health problems, and that some of these problems are grave."

The report by the Geneva-based French doctor said Sihanouk, 62, had two major health problems — kidney stones and high cholesterol levels — and said:

"This in the end could affect his ability to face up to the heavy responsibilities and gruelling obligations which he has assumed for the past 16 years."

Sihanouk, president of the tripartite guerrilla coalition dominated by the pro-Peking Khmer Rouge, lives in Peking for much of the year as a guest of the Chinese government, the main supporter of the coalition. — Reuter

/9317
CSO: 4200/1073

CORRESPONDENT REVIEWS SECURITY SITUATION IN PHNOM PENH AREA

BK250850 Hong Kong AFP in English 0804 GMT 25 May 86

[By Laurent Maillard]

[Text] Phnom Penh, May 25 (AFP)--The Cambodian capital is primed for possible raids by Khmer Rouge resistance guerrillas with a nightly curfew, patrols and stepped up defenses around the city, according to Phnom Penh residents and Western sources. But despite the obvious security precautions, Western sources in the capital could only confirm one Khmer Route attack near Phnom Penh over the past few months adding that a large-scale strike did not appear imminent.

The Khmer Rouge have claimed several operations in Phnom Penh during the past few weeks, including attacks on Vietnamese troops, but foreign residents here were unable to confirm them. On the contrary, the sources said, the situation in Phnom Penh had been particularly calm over the past few months. Only an April 16 rocket attack of Pochentong Airport could be confirmed by Western sources, who said the rockets caused only minimal damage to a hangar at the airfield.

"Except for scattered gunfire at night, which isn't new anyway, the situation is very quiet right now," said an official of a humanitarian organization working in Cambodia.

The Western sources reported hearing two or three grenade explosions since the beginning of the year, but they believed the blasts were the result of fighting between racketeers and not guerrilla attacks.

The absence of recent guerrilla attacks on the Cambodian capital is partially explained by the stringent security that has been put in place, including a daily 9a.m. to 5a.m. curfew. City streets are deserted by nightfall. Intersections in the capital are guarded at night by soldiers and local militia forces, who stop anything that moves. Outside the capital, local security brigades have been created to patrol the suburbs. Earlier this year, authorities launched a large-scale de-forestation campaign around Phnom Penh in an attempt to create a "buffer zone" around the capital, Western sources said.

Despite the absence of recent guerrilla attacks, residents and authorities are still on edge and an anxiousness about possible Khmer Route strikes is perceptible in conversation with local residents. Tension was particularly heavy in early April, before the 11th anniversary of the April 17, 1975 rise to power of the Khmer Rouge, residents said. Authorities stepped up the number of preemptive measures, taking the threat seriously enough to seal off the center of the city from Westerners who are normally allowed to circulate freely.

The situation has relaxed somewhat since, but with each holiday or political event, strict security measures are re-imposed, including a one-hour extension of the curfew from 9 p.m. to 9 p.m., foreign residents said.

Tension in the capital has apparently been increased by the rise in guerrilla actions in the countryside, attacks which have been confirmed by Westerners and eyewitness reports.

Although none of the large-scale attacks that the Khmer Rouge have claimed to have carried out in Western Cambodia since February can be confirmed, Western residents said there has been an increase in the number of eyewitness reports of small, but regular, guerrilla strikes. Those attacks have helped create a climate of insecurity in provinces that were once free of guerrilla influence like Prey Veng, northeast of Phnom Penh, the sources said. The increase in guerrilla actions has not caused international organizations to call off projects outside of Phnom Penh, but "there has definitely been a downward slide in security in certain areas," said an official working with a relief organization.

Vietnamese military officials admitted in Hanoi last March that the Cambodian resistance has stepped up its operations. Heng Samrin, head of the Cambodian regime put in place following the 1979 Vietnamese invasion, also admitted in late March that resistance forces pose "complex problems" for his government, which they are seeking to overthrow.

One cause for concern in Phnom Penh are reports from reliable sources that there has been an increase in "cooperation" between some villagers and Khmer Route guerrillas. The Cambodian government is particularly concerned with reports that farmers have been supplying guerrillas with provisions and other assistance. To help stop this, authorities launched a propaganda campaign at the beginning of May which seeks to stir up anti-Khmer Rouge sentiment among villagers and reinforce local party structures.

For its part, the Vietnamese Army, which is expected to carry out a partial troop withdrawal at the beginning of this week, seems to have concentrated its anti-guerrilla efforts to the Cambodian interior, according to military sources in Hanoi. Vietnamese troops have also stepped up training of Cambodian soldiers in an attempt to meet Hanoi's stated goal of withdrawing all of its estimated 150,000 troops from Cambodia by 1990, the sources said.

/12624
CSO: 4200/1079

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KAMPUCHEA

BRIEFS

PACT SIGNED WITH INDIA--Hanoi VNA May 9--Agreement on preservation and restoration of the Angkor Wat Temple has been signed in New Delhi between India and Kampuchea during the visit of a delegation of the Kampuchean Ministry of Information and Culture led by its Minister Chheng Phon. Signatories were Sushila Kohatgi, Minister of State for Education and Culture and Minister of Human Resources Development of India, and Cheng Phon, Minister of Information and Culture of Kampuchea. Under the agreement, the Indian side will provide finance and technical equipment for the restoration of the temple. During its stay in India, the Kampuchean guests toured several historical sites, museums, institutes for historical and cultural research and the cities of Bombay, Calcutta, Agra, Bhubanshwar, Pune, etc. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 0719 GMT 9 May 86 OW] /12624

SRV-PRK MILITARY EXERCISE--Aranyaprathet--The Vietnamese and Heng Samrin troops are conducting a joint military exercise on the western part of Battambang, close to Thai border, a military source said. About 2,000 Vietnamese soldiers from four divisions took part in the May 20-27 exercise. [Text] [Bangkok BANGKOK WORLD in English 24 May 86 p 3 BK] /12624

SRV-PRK TROOPS SURRENDER--Forty Vietnamese soldiers and 95 Heng Samrin troops have surrendered to the Thai military since October last year. Commander of the Burapha task force Major General Choetchai Thiratthanon said that a small number of arms and ammunition, including one antiaircraft artillery, were also handed over to the Thai officers. Maj Gen Choetchai said most of the defected Vietnamese soldiers said that they did not want to be under the rule of the communists and they did not want to wage war against any country, while the Heng Samrin troops said they did not want to see Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea and after listening to KPNLF's radio, they decided to flee and to fight to free Kampuchea from Vietnam. Maj Gen Choetchai also disclosed that Vietnam has withdrawn most of its troops along the Thai-Kampuchean border and replaced them by the Heng Samrin soldiers. [Text] [Bangkok Domestic Service in English 0000 GMT 11 May 86 BK] /12624

SOVIET SPORTS EQUIPMENT AID--Thirteen trunks of sports equipment was handed over in Phnom Penh last Saturday by Chakhnazarov, counsellor of the Soviet embassy, to the Department of Physical Training and Sports under the Ministry of Culture and Information. The aid, the fourth of its kind since liberation, was a gift from the Soviet Union to Kampuchea, which helps promote the physical training and sports activities in Kampuchea, which were uprooted in the genocidal regime of Pol Pot. [Text] [Phnom Penh SPK in English 1118 GMT 13 May 86 BK] /12624

RETURNEES IN 1ST QUARTER--Phnom Penh SPK May 16--In the first three months of this year, 39 people misguided by the enemy propaganda reported themselves to the revolutionary authorities at Puok District, in the western border province of Battambang [as received]. The returnees, including 25 Sereikas, brought with them 14 weapons. In the same period, 30 such people rallied to the revolutionary authorities at Banteay Amail District, Siem Reap-Oddar Meanchey Province, brought along 10 guns. Also in Sandan District, Kmpong Ahom Province, 30 misled people came over to the revolution, including 21 Sereikas, six Molinakas and three Polpotists. They brought along nine AK-47 automatic rifles, one machine gun, one sub-machine gun and a quantity of ammunition. The local authorities have supplied them with necessities to embark on a new life. [Text] [Phnom Penh SPK in English 1116 GMT 16 May 86 BK] /12624

DELEGATION TO MPR PARTY CONGRESS--Phnom Penh SPK May 23--A Kampuchean party delegation left here this morning for Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, to attend the 19th Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Mongolia to be held on May 28. The delegation, led by Chan Seng, candidate Politburo member of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea Central Committee and vice president of its Control Commission, was seen off at Rochentong Airport by Nguon Nhel, candidate Politburo member of the party Central Committee and secretary of the Phnom Penh party committee, and other Kampuchean officials. [Text] [Phnom Penh SPK in English 1105 GMT 23 May 86 BK] /12624

FISHING AGREEMENT WITH SRV--Phnom Penh SPK May 23--A fishing cooperation agreement between Kampuchea and Vietnam has recently been signed in Phnom Penh during a week-long visit (May 8-15) to Kampuchea by a delegation of the Vietnamese ministry of Aquatic Products. The Vietnamese delegation, led by Vice Minister Vo Van Trac, had working sessions with a Kampuchean delegation of the agriculture ministry, led by Vice Minister Nuon Saret. The two sides reviewed their cooperation in the past years and discussed their future cooperation for the 1986-90 period. During its stay, the Vietnamese guests was received by Kampuchean Minister of Agriculture Say Chhum. [Text] [Phnom Penh SPK in English 1107 GMT 23 May 86 BK] /12624

MESSAGE TO INDIAN FOREIGN MINISTER--Phnom Penh SPK May 22--Hun Sen, foreign minister of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, has warmly congratulated his excellency Shiv Shankar on his appointment as minister for foreign affairs of India. In his message, the Kampuchean foreign minister says: "I am firmly convinced that, with your talent and contribution, the prestige of the republic of India will be further strengthened and developed on the international arena to the interests of peace and stability in Asia and the world over. "I avail myself of this opportunity to which your excellency the glorious success in your highly responsible tasks and the people of India happiness and prosperity." [Text] [Phnom Penh SPK in English 1113 GMT 22 May 86 BK] /12624

CSO: 4200/1079

CRIME PREVENTION URGED, GUIDELINES GIVEN

Hanoi DOC LAP in Vietnamese 2 Apr 86 p 6

[Article by Quang Dam: "Speed Up Struggle to Control, Prevent Crime"; portions within slantlines in boldface]

[Text] on 1 January 1986, the first penal code of the state of Socialist Republic of Vietnam began to take effect.

Earler, on 22 August 1985, our newspapers and radio and television stations announced that the chairman of the Council of Ministers has issued a directive on ensuring correct implementation of the code, "accelerating the struggle to control and prevent crimes, and overcoming a lingering lack of resolve and thoroughness in fighting crimes."

All those concerned with our country's legal system and social morality want responsible organizations, sectors, and organs to strive to comply with the above directive in a very vigorous and strict manner.

True, in recent days and up to the present, apart from indications of correct enforcement worthy of being cites as exemplary, the "lingering lack of resolve and thoroughness in fighting crimes" is unusually evident and rather widespread. In the localities and the nation's capital, a look at the legal system from the basic level up often detects manifestations which may be categorized as "four don'ts."

a. Do see, or know, but /don't arrest./ This means not only police violations, but also--and chiefly--all offenses, including serious ones.

b. Do arrest, but /don't prosecute./ Following an arrest, made either by oneself or by others, an investigation is conducted, and the suspect is--or is not--detained, but only to be "released on bail" pending further investigation; however, neither investigation, nor prosecution will result.

c. Do prosecute, but /don't punish./ Everything is done--investigation, arraignment, indictment and legal proceedings clearly spelling out the nature of offenses--but eventually the case is handled in a "nonlegal" way in general, and "nonpenal" way in particular.

d. Do inflict punishment, but /don't enforce it./ After a verdict is brought in, a way is found to reduce sentences, or even allow convicts to do "meritorious work" to qualify for remission.

In reviewing the causes for the "four don'ts" in the legal system, one often sees on the side of offenders manifestations which may be categorized as the "four dos."

a. /Do have clout,/ namely power and authority. Big clout is not needed--just enough to make a direct or indirect impression on the person or persons to whom it falls to prosecute or punish criminals. As a result, lower echelons are more vulnerable to these pressures.

b. /Do have money/. Money here also includes wealth and all material and spiritual values that may be easily turned into commodities for black market dealings and buying off people.

c. /Do have connections/. Blood relationships (between fathers and children, brothers and sisters, and wives and husbands), and other close bonds between relatives, teachers and students, friends, and neighbors on the same city street, or the same village, or hamlet--all these countless ties are apt to obfuscate justice.

d. /Do have temerity associated with violence/. To prevent others from uncovering, denouncing, and punishing crimes, they resort to madcap and unscrupulous acts capable of causing injuries, even deaths.

A general look at these "four don'ts" and "four dos" shows that the extent of their diffusion depends on times and places; however, they cannot be seen as "isolated" manifestations, much less "trifling" ones.

Furthermore, we should pay attention to so-called "moral principles," which are weakening the struggle to control and prevent crimes. These principles are, are follows:

a. "Make peace with everyone." Although negative aspects of life are widespread, occasionally threatening to mar the vigorous and superior nature of our society, quite a few people confronted by the need to thwart and punish this or that offense--brigandage, robbery, destruction of public property, speculation, smuggling, extortion of money from the people, bribery, etc.--tend to stick out their tongues in disagreement. "Well," they argue, "do others do differently? Do other places do differently? If we continue to arrest, prosecute, and punish, we will end up biting off more than we can chew." This is a negative and defeatist principle, unsuitable to our lifestyle. By nature, the regime and society we are building seek to actively shape a civilized lifestyle and resolutely fight to eliminate crimes. The law in general, and the penal code in particular, is really a proper tool and strong weapon in that building and fighting movement.

b. Fear that /"removal of a vine would damage the whole forest"/. Currently in the commission of crimes, shrewd felons often manage to line themselves with those holding high positions and enjoying social repute, thus easily forcing prosecutors to stop all legal proceedings for fear of implicating top officials. In fact, due to its socialist nature, our legal system cannot wince at "damaging the whole forest"; what is more, whenever the need arises, it must go to the roots to eliminate crimes.

c. Use collectives as a front for crimes. Collective life, collective labor, and collective work characterize the superiority of our lifestyle and society. However, as we are going through the initial stage of the transitional period to socialism, the practice of using collectives to cover up individual crimes still remains in some places and sectors. It should be emphasized that our collective spirit is based on socialism, and is entirely different from sectarian and factional tendencies. In collective work, individual offenders are prosecuted and punished by the law. And the same thing holds true for segments of a collective, or even collectives. The degree of collective or individual involvement varies with circumstances, and it is out of the question to overlook individual offenses in the name of collectives.

d. Exempt some people from prosecution. The Gia Long penal code, formerly issued by the Nguyen monarchy in our country, and patterned after the feudal law of the Tsing dynasty in China, saw the ceremonial concept of "eight exemptions" advanced by the Chu dynasty some 3,000 years ago as a golden rule in perpetuity. According to that concept, criminal law not only spares kings and princes, but also pampers eight categories of persons allegedly known for their virtues, talents, and meritorious achievements, or their indispensable role in making the royal family safe and the dynasty durable--exempting them from prosecution or reducing the severity of legal charges and sentences against them. Bourgeois law includes no such favors because, in essence, it protects the bourgeois class's individual liberties and private ownership in the first place. Our socialist law thrives on absolute justice and allows no partialities. Our criminal law clearly specifies different levels of punishment for each criminal offense, from the lowest to the highest, and a retribution policy contingent upon circumstances and the gravity of offenses. Permissiveness-failing to punish, or punishing at will or superficially, at levels even lower than those stipulated by penal law--inevitably weakens or destroys the latter's effects. Moreover, it contributes to perpetuating the formation and existence of an exclusive group of people, who compete for priorities when interests are involved, but want the law to stretch a point when they commit an offense, in stark contrast to the nature of the socialist system which is being built with the entire people's enthusiasm, intelligence, and labor, and under the party's wise leadership.

Certainly, we can find other indications, reasons, and moral concepts that have restrained criminal law enforcement and crime control and prevention. In light of the present situation, those interested in raising the sense of respect for law and in living strictly within the boundaries of the law have come to realize to a man that this is a great problem with increasingly threatening effects on the positive aspects of life. The advancement of the revolution is generating a burning need for resolve and vigorous measures for properly solving that problem. But responsibility does not rest with the legal system alone. Party committee echelons involved in leadership, administration officials doing managerial work, and the people with their commitment to collective mastery and socialist democracy must, anytime and anywhere, put these responsibilities above all common responsibilities in building socialism, and defending the socialist fatherland. The new penal code is an excellent new weapon and tool for the legal system. To firmly ensure correct and adequate implementation of that code, prosecution and trial procedures should also be perfected and made public in a clear manner. For everyone throughout our society, regardless of positions, acquisition of socialist morality is a common and principled requirement. Especially, the exemplariness of those in charge of leadership and management should be vigorously, faithfully, and regularly fostered in all sectors of social activities.

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CSO: 4209/452

UN ENVOY CRITICIZES U.S. 'STAR WARS' PROGRAM

OW120913 Hanoi VNA in English 0711 GMT 12 May 86

[Text] Hanoi VNA 12 May -- Speaking at a May 6 debate of the U.N. commission for disarmament, ambassador Bui Xuan Nhat highly appreciated the tireless efforts of the socialist and non-aligned countries to prevent the nuclear arms race and lessen world tension.

Ambassador Bui Xuan Nhat, acting head of the Vietnamese permanent mission to the United Nations and head of a Vietnamese delegation to the session, strongly condemned the U.S. "star wars" program and pointed out that security at present should be guaranteed through political measures and solutions. The so-called "SDI" program as well as a program for modernizing ground-based nuclear weapons are in essence aimed at regaining the strategic military superiority, he said.

He criticizes the imperialist countries' using their naval forces to carry out their "gun-boat diplomacy," interfering in the newly-independent countries' internal affairs, and repressing the world movement for national liberation and said that vietnam had been victim of this "gun-boat diplomacy" for almost 40 years.

He pointed out that priority should be given to measures to curb the nuclear arms race in outer space, and completely halt all nuclear tests as proposed by the Soviet Union for the dismantlement of all nuclear weapons during the next 15 years.

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CSO: 4200/1024

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, TRADE, AND AID

HANOI REPORTEDLY REJECTS BALI APPEAL ON CAMBODIA

BK030810 Hong Kong AFP in English 0759 GMT 3 May 86

[Text] Hanoi, 3 May (AFP) -- Vietnam rejected Saturday [3 May -- FBIS] the call put forward in Bali by the United States and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations [ASEAN] that it reconsider its stand on Cambodia.

In particular, ASEAN wants Vietnam to reconsider its dismissal of an eight-point proposal advanced by the Cambodian resistance coalition for a negotiated settlement of the more than seven-year-old conflict.

"The Vietnamese position on the eight-point proposal has been clearly stated," an authoritative source told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

Vietnam rejected the proposal outright after it was announced by leaders of the tripartite Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK) who met in Peking in March.

New elements in the proposal included a two-stage withdrawal of the estimated 150,000 Vietnamese troops deployed in Cambodia and the formation of a four-party Cambodian Government to include the Hanoi-backed administration currently in power in Phnom Penh.

But it also contained at least two points unacceptable to Vietnam: It was addressed directly to Hanoi and included the pro-Peking Khmer Rouge as one of the parties in the proposed government.

The ASEAN foreign ministers expressed support for the CGDK proposal and joined with Washington in asking Hanoi to reconsider it during talks this week in Bali, Indonesia, with U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State George Shults.

Vietnam's rejection of the idea came as no surprise to diplomats here. Vietnamese officials had said earlier that an ASEAN agreement on the CGDK proposals would just be a "facade"papering over continuing divisions in the non-communist grouping on the question of a political settlement in Cambodia.

Acknowledging that the Bali meeting had introduced no substantial new elements and that no immediate results were expected from it, several ASEAN diplomats here said that the Vietnamese rejection, however, was "perhaps not definitive."

They expressed hope that some of the CGDK proposals could still be discussed within the framework of the Vietnamese-Indonesian working group on Cambodia, which is expected to meet next in a few months in Jakarta, reliable sources said.

Indonesia has been delegated to talk to Hanoi on ASEAN's behalf about the Cambodian conflict.

Vietnam reacted cautiously Saturday to statements indicating that the United States was ready to take part constructively in a regional solution to the questions of Cambodia and of peace and security in Asia.

"One must wait to judge from deeds if the United States has learned the lessons of the past," officials here said.

At the beginning of the week a Vietnamese spokesman called on Washington to be realistic and to take note of "important changes" in Indochina, saying U.S. leaders should acknowledge their responsibilities and their interests in the region.

Hanoi has made no comment on the decision taken by ASEAN and the United States to maintain Vietnam's economic and diplomatic isolation while continuing to furnish aid to the anti-Vietnamese Cambodian resistance.

Mr Shultz told reporters after Mr Reagan's meeting Thursday with ASEAN foreign ministers that the United States fully supported a plan to isolate Vietnam until it agrees to end its occupation of Cambodia.

Some ASEAN diplomats here greeted the decision with skepticism, saying that it would change nothing in the current situation, was "unrealistic" and could even be harmful in that it would reinforce the Soviet Union's hold on Vietnam.

The chief short-term result of the Bali meeting, observers said Saturday, could be the unblocking of a stalemate between the United States and Vietnam on the problem of U.S. servicemen listed as missing in action (MIA) in the Vietnam war.

Indonesia feels that normalisation of U.S.-Vietnam relations is imperative for stability in Asia and has played an intermediary role between Hanoi and Washington on the MIA dispute.

Jakarta apparently brought the issue up again with U.S. leaders during the Bali meeting, diplomatic sources said.

Hanoi earlier accused the United States of breaking a commitment to cooperate with Vietnam on solving the MIA problem, and suspended the technical discussions on the issue which had been under way for a year.

A Vietnamese official merely said Saturday that the discussions would be resumed "at an opportune time."

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CSO: 4200/1024

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, TRADE, AND AID

ASIAN INTERNATIONAL YOUTH MEETING ENDS IN HANOI

Communique, Letter to People

OW131827 Hanoi VNA in English 1524 GMT 13 May 86

[Text] Hanoi VNA 13 May -- The international youth meeting on peace, security, development and cooperation in Asia and the Pacific closed here this morning after three-day sitting.

The participants at the meeting adopted a communique and a letter addressed to the Vietnamese people, youth and students.

The letter says:

"Dear Vietnamese young friends and people, we, the participants of the 'International Youth Meeting on Peace, Security, Development and Cooperation' have the pleasure to address this message to you, after the successful conclusion of our meeting held in Hanoi, capital of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. This meeting provided us an opportunity, though a short one, to understand the aspirations of the peace-loving people of your country. We are returning to our homes with deeper understanding and feelings of solidarity.

"It is true that we belong to different nationalities, organisations, ideological and political faiths. But the unwavering desire for ensuring peace, security, development and cooperation in Asia and the Pacific brought us together to this meeting. We are convinced that the problems of our region are not separated from the world developments. The threat of nuclear extermination is posed towards the whole of humanity, and the struggle to safeguard life on earth and all its cherished values is a solemn task of supreme priority for every human being. At the same time, specific problems of development and cooperation in Asia and the Pacific demand intensified efforts for peace and security in the region. United actions of all like-minded forces to achieve these aims are necessary today. Young people and their organisations have to play an important role in this regard. In our meeting we discussed all these issues in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. We are sure that the international youth meeting in Hanoi will be marked as an important step forward in the common actions for peace, security development and cooperation in the region.

After the closing session, a press conference was held to make known the result of the meeting and the content of the communique.

Full Text of Communique

OW131831 Hanoi VNA in English 1540 GMT 13 May 86

[Text] Hanoi VNA 13 May -- Following is the full text of a communique issued here today by the international youth meeting on peace, security, development and cooperation in Asia and the Pacific convened in Hanoi from May 11-13:

1 - the International Youth Meeting on Peace, Security, Development and Cooperation in Asia and the Pacific took place in Hanoi, the S.R. of Vietnam, from 11th to 13th May 1986. The meeting was co-organized by the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, the Vietnamese Youth Federation, the National Students Union of Vietnam and the World Federation of Democratic Youth (W.F.D.Y.) 48 representatives of 22 youth and student organizations from 19 countries and 8 international and regional organisations participated in the meeting.

2 - observing the International Year of Peace the participants had, in an atmosphere of openness and mutual understanding, exchanges of views on questions related to the present international situation and contributing of youth and students of the region to the struggle for elimination of nuclear weapons and strengthening of peace, security, development and cooperation in Asia and the Pacific.

3 - the participants noted that the present international climate continued to be tense, they expressed their anxiety over the dangerous aggressive course maintained by the Reagan administration and its closest allies. The participants expressed their concern against the attempts to accelerate the arms race on earth and in the outer space through the so-called "strategic defense initiative" (SDI). This policy could drive mankind only towards a devastating nuclear war which participants believed should be averted definitely at the same time the forces of imperialism and reaction continued to intensify their subversion of the independence of peoples in different regions of the world. In this context as well, to observe the sovereignty of states and to defend the right of nations for self-determination is an essential issue of the preservation of world peace.

4 - in this international context the situation in Asia and the Pacific also becomes particularly serious. The progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces are faced with a new strategy of the U.S. administration and its closest allies that increases the threat to the peace and security of the region. By intensifying their military presence in the region on the pretext of defending their "vital interests" the militarist and reactionary forces try to turn this region into a new arena of military-political confrontation with the socialist countries, other independent and sovereign states of the region.

5 - the participants agreed that peace and security in Asia and the Pacific could not be ensured by pursuing a policy of confrontation and militarization; on the contrary, they could only be achieved by means of joint efforts and practical measures aimed at eliminating tension, developing the dialogue and

promoting cooperation on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence of states having different socio-economic systems in the region.

The participants expressed their conviction that disarmament could lead to establishment of a new and fair international economic order and make it possible to convert the vast resources used for arms race to the goals of constructive economic development and prosperity.

6 - noting the growing threat of nuclear war the participants stated the urgent necessity of complete elimination of nuclear weapons. In this spirit, they hailed the programme of total elimination of nuclear arms with a precisely stated period of time. The participants in the meeting demanded responsible attitude from all nuclear-possessing powers towards the elimination of nuclear armaments and the halting of their nuclear tests. The participants stressed that the consistent policy for peace pursued by the non-alignment movement, the efforts to create nuclear-free zones constitute an important element of the creation of a bright future for the people of the region and the world. It was underlined that this region should not be the source of tension and arena of armed confrontation. To prevent such a development the broadening of political dialogues is needed among all the states in the region.

7 - the participants agreed that the anti-war struggle in Asia and the Pacific constituted an integral part of the struggle of peoples for peace and security the world over and that they have strong aspiration for peace, national independence socio-economic progress, the elimination of oppression, misery, diseases and illiteracy. This aspiration could be achieved first of all on the basis of common efforts made by all peace-loving and progressive states and peoples in the region in a spirit of improving the political climate of the region, of promoting the efforts aimed at finding a political solution to their problems, ending regional conflicts and developing cooperation for the benefit of all the people and youth of the region.

8 - the participants in the meeting were convinced that to such an end, patient efforts at different levels are needed. That is why they welcome the various positive unilateral and multilateral steps undertaken in Asia and the Pacific for the non-use of force in relations among countries in the region, treaties of cooperation and friendship, establishment of zones of peace, stability and cooperation, including a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean, promotion of nuclear-free zones, against military alliances, their enlargement and creation of new ones, for peace and disarmament. The participants highly appreciated the role played by the youth, students and their organisations in the region, in seeking ways for promoting the common efforts in the interest of the above-mentioned objectives. They called for continued mutual relations, their development, and follow-up activities.

9 - the participants underlined the significant contribution of the 12th w.f.y.s. [as received] to the cause of anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship and expressed the importance of the continuation of the world festival movement in the same spirit.

10 - the participants thanked the host organization for its kind hospitality and good working conditions ensured for the success of the meeting.

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CSO: 4200/1024

BRIEFS

COOPERATION IN CONSTRUCTION--Hanoi VNA 2 May--Vietnamese and Soviet working teams on cooperation in construction and building materials under the Vietnam-USSR Inter-governmental Commission for Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation, ended its third session here Wednesday after the nine days' sitting. The session reviewed the cooperation between the two countries in the said fields over the past years and worked out measures to increase the efficiency of the construction projects built with Soviet assistance in Vietnam. Vietnamese vice minister of construction, Nguyen Manh Kiem and Soviet first vice minister of construction, Yu G. Losev signed minutes of the meeting for further cooperation between the two countries in the coming years. The Soviet Union, according to the minutes, will help Vietnam develop the construction of dwelling houses in Hanoi, the coal mine province of Quang Ninh and the natural gas and oil production zone of Vung Tau. The Soviet Union will also help build cultural establishments in some major industrial centers of Vietnam. The signing was witnessed by Phan Ngoc Tuong, alternate member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and minister of construction. While in Vietnam, the Soviet team was received by Do Muoi, political bureau member of the CPVCC and vice chairman of the council of ministers. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1509 GMT 2 May 86 OW] /12858

NGUYEN THANH BINH RECEIVED--Hanoi VNA 10 May--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) and chairman of the GDR state council, received in Berlin on Friday Nguyen Thanh Binh, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, on a visit to the GDR. Erich Honecker highly appreciated the continuous, close cooperation and fraternal solidarity between the two parties, states and peoples based on their treaty of friendship and cooperation. He reaffirmed the SED and GDR people's constant support for the Vietnamese People's Revolutionary cause and welcomed the initiatives by Vietnam and other fraternal countries in Indochina for turning Southeast Asia into a region of peace, stability and cooperation. For his part Nguyen Thanh Binh conveyed warm greetings from Party General Secretary Le Duan and President Truong Chinh to Erich Honecker and other GDR party and state leaders. He informed his hosts of Vietnam's perseverance for peacefully resolving disputes in the region. he thanked the SED and the GDR people for their valuable support and assistance to Vietnam. Present at the reception were Wermer Felfe, politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Vietnamese Ambassador Tran Hoai Nam. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 0726 GMT 10 May 86 OW]

SRV, USSR ARCHITECTURE EXHIBIT--Hanoi VNA 12 May--A photo exhibition on Vietnamese and Soviet architecture has been organized in Vietnam's central province of Quang Nam-da Nang in honor of the centenary of the international labor day. It was co-sponsored by the chapter of the architects' association and the culture-information service of the province. On display were more than 200 photos, half of which reflected some of the architectural projects built in Hanoi from 1955 to 1985, and in Quang Nam-da Nang during the past 10 years. The other photos on show brought out the rebirth of several Soviet cities since the great victory of the Soviet people over German fascism. The exhibition also featured more than 30 posters painted by painters in the province and elsewhere in the country in honor of the international year of peace. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1514 GMT 12 May 86 OW]

GREETINGS TO NORWEGIAN PRIME MINISTER--Hanoi VNA 12 May--Chairman of the Council of Ministers Pham Van Dong has extended his congratulations to Ms Gro Harlem Brundtland on her appointment as prime minister of the kingdom of Norway. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1509 GMT 12 May 86 OW]

ACHIEVEMENTS OF BULGARIAN CONGRESS--Hanoi VNA 12 May--A talk on the result of the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Bulgaria was jointly sponsored here by the Vietnam Committee for Solidarity and Friendship with other peoples and the Vietnam-Bulgaria Friendship Association. Present were Trinh Ngoc Thai, deputy director of the International Department of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and General Secretary of the Vietnam Committee for Solidarity and Friendship with other peoples, M. Chipkovanski, Bulgarian Charge d'Affaires A. I. to Vietnam, and others. Speaking on this occasion, the Bulgarian charge d'affaires recalled the remarkable achievements recorded by the Bulgarian people in the past five years in carrying out the resolution of the party's 12th congress. He pointed out that the directions and tasks laid down at the 13th congress would strongly accelerate the socialist construction in Bulgaria. He stressed: "The Bulgarian Communists and people will further strengthen their militant solidarity, friendship and comprehensive cooperation with the fraternal Vietnamese Communists and people. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1516 GMT 12 May 86 OW]

CONSULAR AGREEMENT WITH LAOS--Hanoi VNA 11 May--Instruments of ratification of the Vietnam-Laos consular agreement were exchanged in a ceremony held here on May 10. The agreement was signed in Vientiane on November 20, 1985 and ratified by the state council of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on January 30, 1986, and by the People's Supreme Assembly of the Lao People's Democratic Republic on January 21, 1986. Vice Foreign Minister Hoang Bich Son and Lao Ambassador to Vietnam Khampheun Tounalom signed a protocol on the exchange of the ratification instruments of the agreement. Present at the ceremony were Cabinet Minister Vo Dong Giang, representatives of the Vietnamese State Council's office and the Foreign Ministry, and staff members of the Lao embassy. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1532 GMT 11 May 86 OW]

VISIT OF FRENCH ENVOY--Hanoi VNA 13 May--Louis Amigues, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of France to Vietnam, today paid a courtesy visit to chairman of the National Assembly Nguyen Huu Tho. The Vietnamese chairman had a cordial conversation with the French diplomat. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 1521 GMT 13 May 86 OW]

ESCAP SESSION IN BANGKOK--Hanoi VNA 13 May--A Vietnamese governmental delegation led by Hong Dinh Phu, vice-chairman of the State Commission for Science and Technology, attended the 42nd annual session of the ESCAP convened in Bangkok from April 22 to May 2. In his address, Hong Dinh Phu spoke of the economic difficulties besetting developing countries and the cause of this situation, including trade protectionism imposed by developed capitalist countries and an unequal international economic relationship. He laid stress on the need to ensure peace for socioeconomic development and voiced Vietnam's support for the Soviet Union's peace initiatives and protest against the arms race and militarisation of outer space. He reaffirmed Vietnam's policy of striving, together with other regional nations, for a Southeast Asia of peace, stability and cooperation. [Text] [Hanoi VNA in English 0727 GMT 13 May 86]

HAIPHONG MASS AGITATION WORK IN 1986

Haiphong HAI PHONG in Vietnamese 31 Jan 86 pp 1, 4

[Text] On January 30, 1986 the Mass Agitation Department of the Municipal CPV Committee organized a conference to review the mass agitation work of 1985 and discussed the mass agitation plan of 1986.

Comrade DOAN DUY THANH, a CPV Central Committee Member and Secretary of the Municipal CPV Committee participated in the conference. Also present were comrade TAM NGO, deputy chief of the CPV Central Committee Mass Agitation Department and representatives of various organizations, groups and unions from districts and major enterprises.

Comrade TRAN THI THANH THO, a standing member and Head of the Mass Agitation Department of the Municipal CPV Committee delivered a report reviewing 1985 mass work.

The Standing Committee of the Municipal CPV Committee, widely disseminated it for thorough understanding to conferences of the Executive Committee of the Municipal Party Organization and of municipal cadres citywide.

The districts and wards, expanding on this directive, achieved good quality results in implementing it.

The mass work of the Party Organization achieved positive changes. The mass movement developed fairly homogenously and in cadence, especially in agriculture and the construction of key projects and in the campaign of lending money to the Municipal CPV Committee. There was also a lot of efforts given to the care of people, particularly workers, public employees, the families of war invalid, survivors of dead soldiers and destitute households.

In addition, the Party Organization resolved to develop the struggle to eradicate the six social evils, advocated non-alcoholic party members and youth union members. The other anti-negative measures and gained substantial results.

The concept of linking economy and society, and linking the mass work to the realization of the revolutionary duties was vividly expressed in many policies and measures of the Party Organization.

Building the party, the administration and mass organization at the city, district and grass roots level was strongly stimulated. The number of weak units and bases was reduced. That is the basic condition to develop the right of ownership of the people.

In a regime where "the party is the leader, the people are the owners and the state is the manager." The party organization tried to clarify the problem of ownership of the people.

The mass organizations become more active in the lives of the people and in the realization of the economic and social duties.

The mass agitation systems of various levels were established and perfected. They were growing up and confirming their role as staff of the mass work for the Party Committee of all echelons. They coordinated the activities of the organization in the block.

The Municipal CPV Mass Agitation Department has studied and proposed many concrete problems concerning the systematization of the ownership right of the people in the structure of new economic management structure and among area residents.

The relationship between the Mass Agitation Department and the other masses organizations and the relationship between CPV echelons and various sectors has been reinforced and proven effective.

In 1986 the key mass agitation target of the Party Organization is to support in the preparation and conduct of the Party Congress of all echelons in order to move to the 6th National Party Congress, to carry out all the resolutions of the 8th and 9th Plenum of the CPV Central Committee and resolutions 41, 42, 43 of the municipal CPV Committee, to contribute to the creation of strong revolutionary movement among the people in all aspects and by all means to build up a system insuring the right of collective ownership of the workers in the new managerial mechanism.

Speaking at the conference, comrade DOAN DUY THANH expressed the mass oriented view points of the municipal CPV Committee which has been fine tuned in proposing the policies to the Party Organization in order to creatively put into practice these policies and regulations of the CPV Central Committee.

The Secretary of the Municipal CPV Committee stressed that along with the forming of the socialist system, the residents in Haiphong, like all other Vietnamese have moved up to the position of the legitimate owner of the country and society, regained the dignity of the nation and that of the human being.

That is the greatest achievement of the revolution, but our society is just at the starting point of the road to socialism, therefore, beside the new men who are practicing new ways of life, there are still negative signs.

Creating new men must be in accordance with the economic and social situation, moving step by step from low to high level and realizing part by part. He pointed out the guide lines and strategies of building new men in Haiphong from now to the year of 2000, in accordance with the economic and social model of the country and of the city in those years.

The residents of Haiphong must practice a wholesome and civilized life and be well educated. They must have an aggressive, revolutionary, active and creative spirit. The mass agitation task must be introduced to each worker, farm laborer, and intellectual. It must enter each house and each family unit. It must make the collective ownership concept permeate each person and family and in all revolutionary movements of the masses. It must create collective ownership minded men who love working and respect justice, who have lots of compassion, lasting will and enough capability to contribute to the reconstruction and protection of the socialist homeland.

13154/9435
CSO: 4209/425

SERIOUSNESS IN SELF-CRITICISM, CRITICISM URGED

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 18 Mar 86 pp 1, 4

[Editorial: "Attitude Toward Self-Criticism and Criticism"]

[Text] Our party derives its strength from unity, identity of views, and uniformity of ideology, organization, and action. It has been able to surmount numerous ordeals, difficulties, and hardships during all periods of time and struggles, and to lead the revolution in our country to the present glorious victory because it has always advocated unity and uniformity which are its most splendid tradition. The great President Ho Chi Minh taught us and wrote in his testament: "We must preserve the unity of our party as we do the apples of our eyes."

Maintaining the principle of collective leadership, developing democracy, strengthening intraparty discipline, and regularly practicing self-criticism and criticism is a prerequisite for strengthening unity and uniformity within the party. Self-criticism and criticism stem from the law of development of the party and are its basic method of educating its cadres and members with the objective of winning great success for its activities and developing the enthusiasm and creativeness of its members and the masses. The self-criticism and criticism campaign which will be launched in all basic party organizations and among all party members and leading cadres at all levels in all sectors will be a highly important factor in preparing for the Congress of Party Organizations at all echelons and for the Sixth National Party Congress.

Now more than ever, we have realized the urgent need to intensify self-criticism and criticism. Over the past few years, realities of life in all sectors at all levels have demonstrated that wherever and whenever there was a lack of self-criticism, criticism, frankness, and courage to take a hard look at failures and shortcomings and to find ways to overcome them, many negative and even serious events would happen at such places and times and diminish the party prestige in the eyes of the people. We are not afraid the enemy will take advantage of our self-criticism and criticism because our party is strong and has a just cause, because our people have a high level of political enlightenment, and because our party and people are welded together into a solid bloc. We point out failures and shortcomings in order not to arouse pessimism but only to indicate measures to overcome them, to distinguish between good and bad people and between good and bad deeds, to educate and induce cadres, party members, and the masses to aim at the good, the beautiful, and the wholesome, and to call on them to further develop the spirit of collective ownership and love for the fatherland and socialism and to boost the revolutionary cause resolutely and more vigorously.

Individual and collective self-criticism and criticism must be done from low to high echelons and vice versa and must revolve around these four major themes: thorough understanding of the party line and viewpoint, organization of their implementation, working manners of the communists, and their ethics and virtues. To obtain some result, it is important for comrades holding key positions in all sectors at all levels and for those in charge of individual units and basic organizations to set a good example by practicing self-criticism, developing democracy, and calmly heeding critical views expressed by people at lower echelons and by the masses. Any manifestation of paternalism and arbitrariness and any threatening and vindictive attitude toward the critics will lead to bad consequences.

Self-criticism and criticism call for a high sense of responsibility, a good motive, and the love for one's comrades, and require us to speak rightly and truthfully without making vague and implicative allegations and to create conditions for the criticized person or echelon to develop good points and overcome shortcomings with the objective of building a stable and strong party and forming a corps of highly qualified cadres. It is necessary to give up the habit of showing mutual tolerance and perfunctorily making self-criticism and criticism and, at the same time, to deal severely with persons who slander other comrades and make up stories to defame them, thus causing internal disunity.

Only by proceeding with a sound goal and method and showing a correct attitude can we ensure that the self-criticism and criticism campaign will bring about a good result, create a new atmosphere and working style wihin the party and increase its combat power, and contribute to adequately preparing for the Congress of Party Ogranizations at all levels and the Sixth National Party Congress.

9332/9835
CSO: 4209/456

SERIOUS SELF-CRITICISM BY KEY CADRES URGED

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 21 Mar 86 p 3

[Article by Le Van Ly: "Exemplary Self-Criticism by Key Cadres"]

[Text] To bring about further change and pave the way for the Congress of Party Organizations at all levels, a campaign for self-criticism and criticism in accordance with the spirit of the directive of the Central Committee Secretariat will be launched among all party members and leading cadres in all sectors at all levels--especially key cadres from the grassroots on up.

Many key cadres very strongly criticize other people and sectors at other levels but are very reluctant to criticize themselves. They are included to claim ownership of any good point or achievement but are ready to blame other people and sectors for any shortcoming or to seek ways to defend themselves and shun responsibility. So far, almost all breaches of discipline by key leading cadres have been disclosed either by the high level or by other people or sectors but not through the self-criticism done by key leaders in the localities or units concerned. In many cases, serious mistakes and shortcomings were revealed by outsiders while key leaders tried to cover them up and dared not look at the truth for fear of discrediting their own agencies and jeopardizing their own positions and interests.

It is especially necessary for key cadres to do self-criticism in the proper manner. Only by setting a good example of self-criticism can these comrades motivate other cadres and party members to properly carry out self-criticism and criticism. Wherever key leaders fail to set good examples, it is impossible to create a wholesome, frank, and truthful atmosphere and psychology necessary for self-criticism and criticism; under such circumstances, the masses will feel apprehensive and dare not criticize leaders for fear of prejudice and revenge. The more seriously, sharply, truthfully, sincerely, and modestly a key cadre criticizes himself, the more strongly his act will induce and encourage other cadres and party members to carry out self-criticism and criticism. On the contrary, if a key cadre criticizes himself superficially just to "get it over with," other cadres, party members, and the masses will become indifferent to the forthcoming self-criticism and criticism campaign. Realities have demonstrated that only key cadres who do self-criticism in the proper manner dare boldly criticize the high level and frankly criticize the low echelon, and that those who lack the courage to criticize themselves correctly also lack the enthusiasm to adequately organize self-criticism and criticism in their own agencies or units. It follows that the self-criticism to be performed by key cadres at all levels in all sectors will have a decisive meaning on the effectiveness of the forthcoming self-criticism and criticism campaign. The theme of self-criticism by each key cadre must revolve around his execution of tasks assigned ever since the Fifth National Congress. Key cadres at different echelons in different sectors and positions with different duties must have different themes for their self-criticism. However, all key cadres must criticize themselves about their thorough understanding and implementation of the political line and mission of the party, about the decisions and specific plans they have made, and about their own virtues, working abilities and method, and leadership style.

Self-criticism must aim at meeting requirements of the assigned political task.

At present, problems have arisen which require key leaders to match words with deeds. It is no longer possible to allow key cadres to speak rightly while acting wrongly, to say one thing while doing another, to order other people to do something while refusing to do it themselves, and to advocate antinegativism while committing negative acts. All of these attitudes have made the organization and implementation of policies less effective.

The new missions require that key cadres have a more stable political standpoint and a wholesome lifestyle, that they do not waver when faced with difficulties and complex situations, and that they agree thoroughly with and believe constantly in the party policy, the victory of the revolution, and the collective intellect and strength of the masses. In view of the present situation, key cadres must have a high combat spirit and sense of responsibility, actively and creatively organize task execution, quickly respond to novelties, and know how to recapitulate experiences; they must have a democratic spirit, respect the collective and be able to unite cadres and develop the collective intellect; they must respect the laborers' right of collective ownership, see the need to organize strict discipline, display deep attachment to the masses, and adopt a wholesome, simple, and exemplary lifestyle.

Key cadres must criticize themselves about their leadership capacities--that is, their standard of knowledge and their ability to grasp the Marxist-Leninist law and doctrine and the policy and viewpoint of the party. This knowledge must be applied in strict accordance with realities in their own installations and sectors at their own echelons. Key cadres must possess the necessary knowledge of the sector of occupation for which they are responsible in order to propose some policy and exchange views with specialized cadres; they must be able to build, manage, and direct the operational apparatus and have sufficien knowledge of and experience in affairs concerning the party, the masses, and cadres.

To assess the effectiveness and quality of the key cadres' self-criticism, it is necessary to examine it from many points of view and to see whether its theme conforms to the spirit of the directive of the CPV Central Committee Secretariat. Self-criticism by key cadres must not be dissociated from self-criticism and criticism by the community of leaders, cadres, and party members in the same localities. Self-criticism and criticism must be accompanied by correction of shortcomings and creation of changes through concrete revolutionary action. Key cadres must use self-criticism to create an atmosphere of solidarity and uniformity and to make the collective wholesome and infuse it with enthusiasm, democracy, and confidence. If a key cadre's self-criticism is to be satisfactory, it must be manifeasted by his correct goal, motive, and attitude and he must not only dare openly admit his shortcomings before his subordinates and the masses but must also report everything to the organization and leader at the higher level and openly criticize his own shortcomings even if they are still unknown to everyone.

Key cadres must use self-criticism to accurately assess their own virtues and capacities, to clearly see their strength and weakness, and to device adequate ways to overcome their shortcomings. Those having serious shortcomings must be strict with themselves and voluntarily propose that disciplinary measures be taken against them before the community.

The forthcoming self-criticism and criticism campaign will be coordinated with the preparation of personnel for the party congress at all levels in order to determine whether the cadres concerned should be allowed to keep their key leading positions or remain in their party committees. For this reason, key cadres can properly carry out self-criticism only if they have an adequate party spirit and noble virtues and if they are devoted to the common interest and the lofty revolutionary cause of the party. This also means that the forthcoming self-criticism and criticism campaign will make it possible to further understand key cadres and evaluate them more accurately. Those who refuse to criticize themselves and to make arrangements for the masses to criticize them in the proper manner are no longer worthy of their key role.

To do self-criticism in a correct manner is a sign of progressiveness. If key cadres who have many shortcomings properly carry out self-criticism, this is an indication that they will be able to mend their ways and to mature to become good ones. To judge and evaluate key cadres, it is first necessary to see whether they criticize themselves with a serious attitude in conformity with the spirit of the directive of the CPV Central Committee Secretariat.

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ECONOMIC PLANNING, TRADE, AND FINANCE

VIETNAM

ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT IN STATE FARMS RENOVATED

Hanoi NONG NGHIEP in Vietnamese 15 Mar 86 pp 1, 7

[Article by Pham Quang Loc, chairman, management board of state-run agricultural enterprises: "Renovate Economic Managerial Structure of State Farms"]

[Text] The resolution of the Eighth Plenum of the CPV Central Committee calls for renovating our nation's economic managerial system. Eliminating the system of state subsidies and bureaucratic centralism, resolutely switching to economic accounting and socialist business, and strongly fostering the autonomy of basic installations in production and business--these are entirely correct goals. In recent days, those localities and state farms graced with comprehensive and satisfactory progress were precisely the same ones which thoroughly grasped and implemented the above-mentioned party resolution. The latter has enabled localities and state farms to get rid of snags and shackles, which they were forced to put up with for years. Currently, our economic situation is still uneasy and imbalanced, but basic installations already know how to promote self-sufficiency, creativeness, and autonomy in production, leading to completion of state plans and economic efficiency. New factors have appeared, and are appearing, especially the effort aimed at achieving production association and cooperation between state-run production, collective economy, and family economy, and between the state sector and domestic and foreign installations, and at linking agriculture to industry, and production to processing and circulation, from the basic level up and within the districts. These are excellent accomplishments and models, the experience of which should be widely disseminated and put to use nationwide.

The Song Hau state farm in Hau Giang is a heroic installation, which for years has molded a managerial structure on its own--in essence, knowing how to fully exploit local labor and land potential to turn out large quantities of products for society. It is so effective in terms of production and business that not only can it stay even, but it can also accumulate capital for the state and also for its own use to develop in-depth production.

By renovating its managerial structure, taking an active role in production and business, and achieving financial autonomy, Chi Linh State Farm (Hai Hung) has shifted from tea monoculture to polyculture, diversified business, and sector and craft development, attaining high economic efficiency in the process. Like Song Hau, Chi Linh State Farm believes in the need to turn out numerous products, achieve high economic efficiency, and pay attention to exports, because only exports can generate foreign exchange to acquire supplies and equipment in support for production growth.

The Sao Vang (Thanh Hoa), Ba Sao (Ha Nam Ninh), Thanh To (Haiphong), Nuoc Trong (Tay Ninh), and Chien Dan (Quang Nam-Da Nang) state farms have been renovating their managerial structure. The Thanh To, Yen Son and Tan Lam state farms were chosen by Haiphong City, Vinh Phu Province, and Binh Tri Thein Province, respectively, as pilot centers for the management improvement program, chiefly fostering the active role of state farms in production and business and their right to financial autonomy.

For a long time, we have talked about enterprise and basic installation rights, but in reality these rights have not yet been defined. To help enterprises take an active role in production and business and achieve financial autonomy, some localities have granted them minimum rights. Consequently, enterprises are allowed:

1. To have a free hand in planning with the most rational production approach and highest economic efficiency, to play a principal role, to strike a balance between four sources of capabilities, and to ensure that production plans are not imposed by superior echelons upon basic installations.

2. To organize management and manpower to suit their needs. They are allowed to recruit and dismiss all cadres, workers, and civil servants found guilty of breach of enterprise regulations.

3. To select appropriate forms of wages and bonuses in order to properly manage the labor force and implement the principle of distribution according to labor.

4. To build their own capital and use it in the most efficient fashion.

5. To achieve production association and cooperation with their counterparts inside and outside their sectors, with the collective and family economies, state-run service centers, schools and research institutes. They are allowed to sign economic contracts and sell products.

In return for these prerogatives, enterprises must discharge specific duties to the state. They are bound to:

1. unceasingly strive to fulfill and overfulfill plans and economic contracts, especially plans and contracts on sales of products to the state;

2. make adequate deliveries to the budget and accumulate capital for the state;

3. correctly implement state policies and procedures; and

4. stabilize and gradually raise the living standards of cadres and workers.

An enterprise's failure to make the most of prerogatives granted by the state is blamed, first of all, on its director. He or she must be replaced following 2, or 3 successive failing years.

Renovating the managerial system and enabling basic installations to take an active role in production and business is a new and complex issue. Those localities and enterprises fully grasping these duties and putting them into practice in a creative way will experience satisfactory progress and be able to foster dynamism, stimulate cadres and workers to produce, and enterprises to move forward. It is crucial that leading cadres make bold to think, work, assume responsibilites, creatively search for solutions, and acquire new knowledge. Since cadres are a decisive factor, the effort to renovate economic management in enterprises should be done simultaneously with 1) rearranging and reorganizing production and the managerial apparatus, 2) recruiting key cadres, and 3) renovating the economic managerial system.

Only by doing this can the effort to renovate economic management gain its ends.

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LONG AN PROVINCE BEGINS MAJOR WATER CONSERVANCY PROJECT

Hanoi QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 10 Apr 86 p 1

[Article in the column "New Products, New Projects": "Long An Starts Construction of the Tri Yen-Rach Chanh Water Conservancy Network to Support 8,000 Hectares for Farming"]

[Text] Long An Province recently started construction of the Tri Yen-Rach Chanh water conservancy network (Can Giuoc District): to support containment of salinity, retain fresh water, provide for drainage and clean out acidity for 8,000 hectares of farmland in the two districts of Can Giuoc and Can Duoc; for the immediate future, to ensure that nearly 5,000 hectares of Can Giuoc District's double crop rice are successful.

The network of the Tri Yen-Rach Chanh water conservancy project consists of a water conducting network 18 kilometers long, a river dam, culverts to block salinity, and a network of internal canals and ditches with an excavation volume of 2.5 million cubic meters of earth and rock, including internal canals and ditches accounting for 1.5 million cubic meters of earth.

Virtually all the rivers and streams in the two districts of Can Duoc and Can Giuoc are tainted with salinity for nearly 7 months out of the year with the remaining months usually suffering from acidity. Only one crop of rice can be planted in most of the area in this region, yields are low, and the amount of area under two crops is unpredictable. Thousands of households lack fresh water for drinking and, during the dry season months, must carry water from Ho Chi Minh City. After liberation, Long An invested considerable capital, equipment, supplies, labor, etc., to help these two districts build dozens of culverts, dams, and dikes to keep out salinity and hold fresh water to support daily life and production. A line of dike more than 60 kilometers long to keep out salinity was built, making it possible to increase the number of crops and expand the area under rice thousands of hectares.

From the very moment mechanized and manual work units of the Ministry of Water Conservancy assembled motor vehicles and equipment and cleared out space, Long An Province and Can Giuoc District excavated more than 5,000 cubic meters of earth, built more than 1,500 square meters of storage facilities, and poured hundreds of cubic meters of concrete pillars. Cadres and workers on the worksite are now striving to rapidly complete preparatory efforts to accelerate the pace of construction in an attempt to put the project into use by the end of the second quarter of 1987.

6915
CSO: 4209/506

AGRICULTURE

SONG BE, OTHER PROVINCES COMPLETE DEVELOPMENT PLANS

OW071002 Hanoi VNA in English 0710 GMT 7 May 86

[Text] Hanoi VNA 7 May -- The provinces of Song Be and Tay Ninh (north and northwest of Ho Chi Minh City respectively) and Ben Tre (the Mekong River Delta) have completed their plans of development and work force distribution for the 1986-2000 period.

Song Be has special advantages in developing afforestation and forest exploitation, rubber and sugarcane growing, and ceramic and porcelain ware. The province plans to promote livestock breeding, including milch buffaloes, to provide more meat and milk for city dwellers and the oil and gas industry area. It will create a new structure of food crops and replace low-yielding rice strains with high-yielding ones.

Tay Ninh, blending the fundamental characteristics of the southern central highlands and the Mekong River Delta, plans to invest in forestry and short-term and perennial industrial crops. The province will make full use of the water from Dau Tieng reservoir for intensive farming and livestock breeding. It will quickly form areas for the growing of groundnut, soybean and sugarcane while building a corresponding processing industry in an effort to create early capital accumulation from within the local economy.

As for Ben Tre, it has seen 10 years of all-round development of agriculture. The province now plans to focus on coconut growing and obtain the initial capital accumulation from the export of coconut and its related products. It will combine the development of agriculture with industry with emphasis on the processing industry, promote the rearing of maritime products, and reclaim and improve submerged forests. The development plans of these provinces have been ratified by the Council of Ministers at a recent conference in Ho Chi Minh City.

/12929
CSO: 4200/1024

DEVELOPMENT OF MARINE PRODUCTS ANALYZED FOR 1986-2000

Hanoi TAP CHI HOAT DONG KHOA HOC in Vietnamese Jan 86 pp 30, 31, 33, 34

[Article by Tran Nhat Anh, edited by Nguyen Gia Tue: "Some Issues Concerning the Development of the Marine-Products Sector in the 1986-2000 Period"]

[Text]

[Editor's Note:] From the actual situation of fisheries in our country, from the major lessons learned in over 25 years of development, and based upon the sector's tasks and objectives in the time to come, the author points out the principal issues in developing the fishing profession in the 1986-2000 period. His most important recommendations are production reorganization and establishment of a new structure; renovation and improvement of the sector's management structure, stepping up production reform, and establishment of socialist production relationships; and district building and strengthening. [End Editor's Note]

1. Some Basic Data

1. Natural Conditions and Resources

—Our country had an immense economic exclusive-rights zone of 1 million square km whose annual allowable exploitation level is 1.3 to 1.4 million tons.

Our resources are diversified, although their quality is still unsatisfactory (low-quality fish account for 54 to 58 percent). Generally speaking, schools of fish are rather small and dispersed in scale.

—Our potential in breeding and culture of marine products is enormous. We have over 1 million hectares of inland water surface, over 300,000 hectares of tidal zones, and hundreds of thousands hectares of bays suitable for fish breeding. Our breeder structure is good, its development speed fast, and its output quite high.

—Special products have extremely great economic significance, and their strong bearing in marine-products production is most conspicuous. They are and will be the basic raw materials for export products.

As it applies for many other countries in Southeast Asia, in function of the above-mentioned characteristics of our resources and as a general rule, fisheries in our country should be geared toward a diversified exploitation method with our main efforts on the medium and small scales. Breeding and culture of marine products ought to become an extremely important strategic endeavor which should be associated with the optimum use and the utmost development of our strengths in special products for export.

2. Realities of Our Country's Fisheries

--After a few years of decline, from 1981 on, many activities have been restored and developed. The sector completed state norms 4 years in a row.

At present, the whole sector has approximately 44,555 ships and boats (including 18,618 doing manual fishing), totaling 46,000 horsepower, and manned by 200,000 fishermen. It is expected that in 1985, the total catch will be 550,000 to 600,000 tons of sea fish, and 230,000 tons of inland marine products, and export income will increase rapidly.

--Fishing in our country is fundamentally coastal fishing, and there is a serious imbalance between fish catching and breeding, and between sea fishing and land support, including processing and maintenance. The contribution of the fishing profession to the national economy is still minimal. In the north, the average per capita output is 13 kg of fish per year, except in mountainous areas where it is 3 kg. In the south, it is 27 to 28 kg.

Shortages of tools and equipment are still severe. Socialist reform is slow.

--Marine-products export has been boosted and has become a main source of income to balance the budget among the four sources of income used to this effect. Linkages and connections within the sector and between the marine-products sector and other sectors are developing strongly, primarily in export.

After 25 years of building the sector, we can learn the following lessons:

--Fishing production organization and management must be consistent with the characteristics of this profession in our country, and with our resources and natural conditions.

--Organization and management of fishing production must be consistent with the general policies pertaining to building socialism, especially in the first phase of the transitional period. It must grow from a small production scale to a larger socialist production scale, in which the main labor force is the collective and the individual fisherman. It is not, as yet, efficiently supported by other sectors of the national economy, and it must be designed in the framework of a national environment in which industrialization is not yet achieved.

3. Lingering Difficulties

In the process of socialist industrialization and of completing the initial building of the physical and technical groundwork for socialism, the national economy is gradually more able to support the fishing profession.

Nevertheless, we can speculate that support given the marine-products sector by other sectors of the national economy, such as engineering, metallurgy (in the provision of machines of over 90 horsepower, of the larger number of machines of under 90 horsepower, and of refrigeration machines having high refrigeration speed and good quality), forestry, the fuel industry, and the plastics industry, does not sufficiently address the demands of this sector.

Therefore, it can be extrapolated that the greatest potential lies in the ability of the state to continuously improve the management structure, and to issue the most appropriate policies to develop the fishing profession on the basis of its self-sufficiency, and on the strengths in marine-products export to support the sector and to bulster other sectors of the national economy.

4. Scientific and Technical Progress

Scientific and technical progress in the breeding field has allowed the application of artificial reproduction, the exploitation of our tropical conditions, quite diversified and highly successful breeding and culture of various products, such as sea shrimp, lobster, various fish, and laminaria, and also the establishment of breeding patterns with large-scale output.

Our shipbuilding techniques have lived up to the demands of development. The new steel-reinforced concrete hulls will replace some wooden or steel hulls for small fishing ships and boats. The methods of net rounding-up and catching shrimp with three-layer traps are being widely expanded.

New techniques in maintenance and processing, and in enhancing the quality, use, and value of export products are being gradually and extensively applied.

Basic surveys of coastal and high seas areas for the purpose of determining resources are being continued (with modern methods as they are available).

Technical progress will be one of the most important factors for the sector's development.

II. Objectives and Tasks of the Marine-Products Sector in the 1986-2000 Period

1. In conjunction with agriculture and other economic sectors, the marine-products sector will contribute to addressing the needs of the people in grain and food in the context of a steady population growth.

By 1990, the annual per capita output will be 18 kg, and the daily per capita fish protein input will be 5.1 grams, accounting for 51 percent of animal proteins in the daily intake, and in 2000, the average input will be 7.1 grams and the percentage, 53 percent.

2. We will step up the export of marine products, primarily special products having high export value, and enable these export activities to pay for the expanded reproduction process and to increase the sector's assets. The speed of increase in export income must be higher than that of the fishing industry's output in general.

3. The sector will gradually provide more fish powder for animal husbandry and more raw materials for certain industrial sectors such as agar, algae, and more laminaria for fertilizermaking.

4. The sector will participate in the national redistribution of labor. It will absorb unemployed labor and new labor in the fishing profession.

III. Direction of Efforts for the Sector's Development, and Most Important Measures

A. Production Reorganization and Establishment of a New Structure in the Fishing Profession

1. To create a new balance between breeding and catching.

--Breeding and culture of marine products has gained a more and more important position in the economy. From a secondary role, it has become a strategic focus in balancing expenditures and income, and in ensuring the provision of 50 percent of the national needs for marine products.

Instead of addressing only local consumption wants, breeding and culture of marine products must become a production sector making export products and supplying one-half of the raw materials for the making of export products, particularly special products, such as brackish-water shrimp, lobster, laminaria, and other mollusks.

--The development of breeding and culture of marine products must be achieved through a system of linkages between agriculture, forestry, and fishing, and in the framework of a total development of agriculture, with the district as the focus of activities, and with the main work done by the people and cooperatives.

--On the basis of the optimal use of water surfaces and labor, of the application of technical progress, and of good provision of breeders by the state, we need to trigger a vigorous expansion of breeding and culture of shrimp, laminaria, and mollusks in brackish-water coastal zones, lagunas, and straits.

2. To continue the development of sea fishing on the basis of the diversified resources of our economic exclusive-rights zones.

--To step up people's fishing, providing fishermen with small boats of around 100 horsepower and with smaller manual fishing boats, but keeping open the capabilities of modernizing this fleet of small fishing boats, of receiving additional equipment for multiple professions, and of flexible movements consistent with seasonal offerings and catching availabilities of fishing areas. All these options must be gauged by economic efficiency.

--To strengthen the leadership role of state-run fishing cooperatives. In the initial phase of the transitional period, this role cannot materialize through the high output of these state cooperatives' direct catching capabilities, but rather through mustering many state cooperatives in support of large cities and certain industrial centers.

--To organize synthesized production and business networks, including activities of catching, processing, export, transport, and product gathering on the sea.

State-run organizations must provide rear services for the people's sea fishing profession, with priority to zones with concentrated catching activities and with high output.

--On the basis of support services provided at sea, to provide guidance on fishing zones, to make sure that the state gets hold of products, to enhance product quality, to provide security at sea, and to protect fishermen from intrusion by foreign fishing ships.

3. Export is the sector's spearhead, and is the most important source of income among the four major sources that allows the sector to expand and to increase its assets.

--Our country possesses the required conditions to become a major exporter of marine products. This branch of export enjoys multiple advantages: stable markets, high product value, and high economic efficiency.

--We will swiftly create a new balance in the provision of raw materials in support of export, initially relying on catching activities as the major source of supply, then gradually reverting to a combination of catching and breeding operations.

--We will swiftly create a new balance in the provision of raw materials in support of export, initially relying on catching activities as the major source of supply, then gradually reverting to a combination of catching and breeding operations.

--We will use to the optimum our equipment on hand while accelerating the supply of new equipment, and we will modernize maintenance, transportation, and storage oeprations in order to increase the quantity and the value of export products, and to enable us to withstand competition in the world market whose demands are gradually increasing.

4. We will vigorously develop our maintenance, processing, and storage capabilities. Meanwhile, we will develop traditional processing professions and rapidly create maintenance and processing industries in order to use to the fullest extent raw materials obtained through catching, breeding, and culture activities, and to bring high-quality and low-cost products to the very places of consumption.

5. We will, step by step, build the marine-products engineering sector, focusing primarily on repair and restoration operations, and on manufacturing accessories in support of the fishing profession.

6. We will protect and allow the reproduction of resources, and maintain the capabilities for long-range exploitation and harvesting of raw materials for the fishing profession. We will protect the ecology.

B. Renovation and Improvement of the Sector's Management Structure

1. Planning and Economic Accounting

—The sector will see to it that management will be unified and linkages established in the various components of the fishing profession: catching, breeding and culture, purchasing, processing distribution and circulation for domestic consumption and export, supply of material supplies, capital, and acquisition of products.

—We will try to obtain a general contract between the entire fishing sector and the state, and a combined accounting system with Vietnamese and foreign currencies. Among the four major sources of income, export is the principal source of income of the marine-products sector.

—We will eliminate the practice by which the state provides material supplies and the fishing sector pays back with Vietnamese and foreign currencies. The recommended general structure would be as follows: the state assigns tasks and gives norms to the marine-products sector without providing it balanced allotments in expenditure funds. Instead, it allows the sector to use export-import activities as the main source for self-procurement of supplies, self-balancing the budget, and self-payment of dues. The sector will maintain and develop itself and meanwhile, discharge its duties to the state, including both the central and local levels.

—The state will provide direct planning for state-run organizations, and through the latter, provide indirect planning with regard to fishing activities executed by the people and cooperatives.

2. Policies

—Marine-products production tax: a unique tax of 3 to 5 percent of the average progressive output will be applied and maintained for 5 years.

—We will improve the price systems for material supplies and other goods supplied to the fishing sector on the premise of alloting the sufficient reimbursement of expenses, and expanded reproduction. With the new systems of contracting with the whole sector and synthesized accounting, and after the issuance of price frames, the Ministry of Marine Products will have the right to make price determinations on the basis of those price frames and on the principle of price fluctuations. The state will issue rational determinations as regards the exchange rate between Vietnamese and foreign currencies.

—We will ensure the materialization of the three-way benefit system: the state, the ministry, and the provincial and district level, primarily in the right to dispose of foreign currency.

In the immediate future, it is recommended that most earned income in foreign currency by the marine-products sector be set aside for its development and for use by localities.

—We will set up a sector emergency fund for natural-disaster relief or poor-harvest assistance.

—We will improve investment procedures and policies pertaining to capital mobilization including foreign capital, and including equipment, material supplies, consumer goods, and capital staying idle among the people.

3. Reorganization of Production and Business Organizations, and Administrative and Professional Units

—We will create joint production and business, and joint scientific, production, and business organizations such as the Production and Business Federation for the Export and Import of Marine Products, the Federation for the Production and Purchasing of Marine Products and for the Provision of Material Supplies for Domestic-Consumption Marine Products, and the Scientific and Production Federation for the Breeding and Culture of Marine Products.

—We will simplify and enhance the efficiency of administrative and professional units. We will pay close attention to the homogenization and improvement of scientific, technical, and economic management cadres. We will step up the provision of on-the-spot training for cadres and fishermen's relatives, and improve their awareness in scientific, technical, and economic matters.

C. Stepping up Reform, Establishing Socialist Production Relationships, and Building and Strengthening the District

—We will continue the reform and reorganization of production in the fields of exploitation, breeding and culture, processing, circulation and distribution, and rear services for the fishing profession through appropriate forms, scales, and steps.

Fishing cooperatives should not specialize too early.

—We will associate socialist reform of the fishing profession with district building. In the immediate future, we will focus on formulating a development plan for the marine-products sector. In function of this plan, efforts will be geared toward the development of fishing terminals and making those terminals centers for the development of the fishing profession, and toward the homogenization of exploitation, rear services, processing and circulation and distribution operations.

We will establish some model fishing villages at fishing terminals, and strive to develop them into fishing towns, Unemployed workers or those unused for lack of equipment will be shunted to and trained in the fishing profession in order to stabilize and develop the latter.

9458/12232
CSO: 4209/395

MORE WORKERS TRAINED FOR SMALL INDUSTRY, HANDICRAFTS

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 18 Mar 86 pp 1, 4

[Text] In pursuance of the recent party resolution, the small industry and handicraft sector in many localities across the country has made every effort to apply technological advance to production in order to further diversify goods and to yield many more new products. Many localities have drawn up programs to apply technological advances and to expand and intensify investments in order to improve equipment, tools, industrial standards, and product quality and to produce new merchandise samples to meet the consumer's likings and needs. Initial data compiled by 15 provinces and cities have revealed that nearly 2,000 new products have been created. Out of all new products manufactured in 1985 by the small industry and handicraft sector throughout the country, 8 were awarded the good-quality seal, 186 the gold medal, 202 the silver medal, and 97 the bronze medal. In comparison with 1984, there was an increase of 141 products.

In 1985, by developing production and creating many new kinds of goods, the small industry and handicraft sector employed about 100,000 more workers most of whom were students graduated from general schools and unproductive laborers in municipalities, cities, and towns. Many cooperative federations drew valuable experiences in training workers and improving the professional skill of cooperative members. For example, workers were sent for intensive study at schools belonging to cooperative federations in provinces and cities and at vocational training centers belonging to district cooperative federations; work-study courses were opened at production installations; college professors were requested to help in teaching; and on the-spot coaching was organized. As a result, the sector was able to train and improve tens of thousands of skillful workers for professional small industry and handicraft cooperatives and for specialized teams in agrucultrual cooperatives.

9332/9835
CSO: 4209/456

NEW FACILITIES AT CA MAU PORT COMPLETED AFTER 2 YEARS

Hanoi QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 10 Apr 86 p 1

[Article by VNA correspondent Nguyen Hong Chuyen in the column "New Products, New Projects": "Inauguration of Ca Mau Port"]

[Text] Minh Hai Province held a ceremony inaugurating service at the Ca Mau Port, one of the province's key projects in the 5-year plan.

The project was accomplished on the basis of improving the old Ca Mau pier and expanding new construction on a much larger scale, consisting of dozens of types of projects directed by the Minh Hai Communications and Transportation Service and carried out with the cooperation of many units such as the Ca Mau Port Corporation, Railroad Project Enterprise 3 subordinate to the Railroad General Department, the Water Conservancy Construction and Installation Enterprise subordinate to the Minh Hai Water Conservancy Service, the Communications Project Construction Enterprise subordinate to the Minh Hai Communications and Transportation Service, etc.

The project is basically completed after 2 years, building 70 meters of retaining wall, installing 260 meters of railroad track and 300 square meters of pier surface, erecting a 27-ton bridge crane, building 2,400 square meters of dock surface and 864 square meters of warehousing capable of holding 300 tons, building and repairing over 1,000 meters of gravel road, etc.

In the course of construction, the collective of cadres, workers, and engineers involved in the project actively overcame many difficulties, especially shortages of supplies and raw materials; organized tight management; developed dozens of valuable innovations, such as using a palanquin conveyance system and making full use of manual labor instead of cranes to erect the pillars for the pier. The Ca Mau Port has started operations, alongside of accumulating capital for the purpose of continued building and expansion, so that it can achieve a transportation volume of 200,000 tons per year by the end of 1986.

6915
CSO: 4209/506

CORRESPONDENT DISCUSSES TRUTH, STRAIGHT TALK CAMPAIGN

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 11 Apr 86 pp 1, 4

[Article by Le Khanh: "Dialogue With a Reader"]

[Text] One Sunday morning, I went to visit a reader I had known for many years. The pure and wholesome breeze of truth and straight talk blowing from Moscow for more than a month now led us into a cordial and frank conversation. Actively placing me in the center of that cool breeze, he asked me straightforwardly and sincerely, "Has our press previously engaged in truth and straight talk and made efforts to create an air of truth and straight talk?"

"In my opinion, we have not yet reached and are still extremely far from that standard," I replied without hestiation. Accurately speaking, there are a couple of such cases but they are insignificant compared with the countless things that life demands be straightforwardly recorded, precisely named and suitably treated. I did not wish to speak here of the superficial weaknesses in the art of presenting the multifarious good aspects in life today--although many are worthy of noting. This was because the thing he had brought up today would be worthwhile taking the time to dissect. It is the attitude of dodging truth and straight talk on those things that presently bear the general title of "negative."

"Can you present proof of any specific cases?"

"It is probably unnecessary to waste a lot of time on that because the specific things are not difficult for anyone, you as well as me, to see. When an unwelcome truth is universally concealed and substituted, the press cannot help but have responsibility, either directly or indirectly."

"In your opinion, is it more directly or more indirectly?"

"There is no system for calculating the percentage of accuracy. I only know that in an individual as well as a newspaper, there are always both. For example, if one knows that a newly completed route has only a political significance and absolutely cannot be used, but still introduces it as a perfected project, distant readers will be sure they can leisurely drive their car sightseeing on that route. Or, when one knows that the agricultural cooperativization of one's local area is partially in form only with many locations forcing the masses and beating the drum to record names, etc. in pursuit of achievements but the press continues to indicate 'basicially complete' and pretends not to know the truth about countless production collectives that are actually only frameworks hurriedly set up for reporting to upper echelons. However, the thing I want to tell you is that whether there is direct or indirect accord with the deception, the degree of damage in the final analysis does not differ a great deal!"

"Thus, you have dodged many cases which you knew clearly were true?"

"I am extremely sorry to say that is true."

"Why?"

"Because of many different reasons. In my opinion however, the controlling factor is primarily a fear of confrontation."

"Confrontation with whom?"

"Confrontation with those who don't want to hear contradictions. Confrontations with the achivement ideology and with those who think they cannot make a mistake and that their own sector and the local area for which they are responsible cannot have shortcomings, especially those shortcomings that can be publicized in the press."

"What do you think about that current situation with the influence from the 27th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party?"

"Actually, it didn't take the 27th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party to first disturb the professional conscience of those engaged in honest reporting. Many had asked themselves questions. The friends' 27th Congress on objectivity was an additional impetus for us to reexamine ourselves. We had not fulfilled the duties assigned by the party, had violated the confidence of the readers, and had dropped our social role and position in the stimulation of material progress. So, what could we say to be honest with ourselves? We wished for peace and agreement, that is very correct. That we lacked revolutionary courage is increasingly more correct."

"There seem to be a number of signs of pleasing change to an active course by the municipal press. Can you confirm that?"

"In my opinion, they are only a modest beginning, extremely modest."

"In this first step, what advantages and difficulties have you encountered?"

"Great advantages: the direct encouragement of leadership. The delight of the readers and people. There have also been one word or another from this or that location. The underlying obstacle, the psychology of fearing straight talk and the truth, has become deeply rooted for too long. Change is not an easy thing. When matters reach that state, they understand the press like no one else and act completely contrary to the function and mission assigned the press by the party. For example, when stating that the proletariat press is a political and ideological 'tool' of the party, they think that this 'tool' is only for the unilateral transmission of line and policy to the masses and to filter out the interesting and advantageous things in practice for reporting aimed at illustrating the accuracy of the line and policy. If the press reflects something that is not advantageous to a line and policy or makes a suggestion, soneone immediately proclaims in dismay that the press is daring to counsel the party! A psychology of fearing that the masses will panic and that the enemy will take advantage when speaking of difficulty, entanglement or negativism is always an extremely revolutionary sounding excuse for them to oppose truth and straight talk in the reporting of news that is beneficial to the leadership and required for the masses. We also encounter another unusual viewpoint, that of not knowing the source: how can you expose the shortcomings of a unit that has been awarded an order (or has been praised as advanced, pure and strong)? An order is considered as nearly the same as a magic charm against monsters and ghosts. (This is not yet mentioning those orders with a reverse aspect). According to them, if a unit has been praised as advanced, it can never make a mistake? Even worse are those accustomed to considering the press as a means for showing off their own achievements or those of their sector or local area with no legitimate motive. When the press tactfully refuses or does just the opposite, it is naturally extremely difficult for the correspondent to open the half-open doors and often they are brutally slammed shut. There have actually been local areas and services where, after being criticized by the press, the leaders have issued orders to lower echelons forbidding them to receive any correspondent without a permit from their higher authority! That's the way it is."

"Have those obstacles stopped you?"

"No. To tell the truth, we have estimated the difficulties we must cope with in our work and never give a thought to stopping. Moreover, in the balance, the advantages are much greater for us and there is a basic advantage as I just mentioned. As for those engaged in press work, everyone with professional zeal wants to turn a new page for himself as of now. The remaining problem is the extremely great personal effort. In the overall hopes of our party and people at the present time for renewal beginning with an air of the truth and straight talk, the press surely must know what to do to assist in creating that renewal. We cannot motivate everyone to engage in truth and straight talk while continuing to agree with lying and beating around the bush! Of course, not every truth must be presented by the press, including those things in the category of economic, security and national defense secrets."

I drained my final glass of tea and intended to end the conversation and leave but my friend hurriedly stretched out his hand to cordially detain me, "May I ask a question out of curiosity. What do you anticipate doing in the self-criticism and criticism drive to prepare for the party organization congresses at all echelons?"

"Nothing that is outside the guidance of the Secretariat and Standing Committee of the Municipal Party Committee. Recently, the Standing Committee of the Municipal Party Committee officially assigned responsibility to mass information agencies to closely follow the progressive changes of this phase of ideological activity. Follow to praise those locations operating in a proper, straightforward and brave manner and those operating precisely in accordance with the viewpoint of the party and the feeling of the people. At the same time, it is to present in the press those individual and collective leaders doing just the opposite: opposing, skimming over, generalizing and concealing the truth and not creating good conditions for public criticism."

"Are you concerned about anything else?"

"Sure. Political and professional abilities. Close association with life. Including the behavior, ethics and qualities of a merber of a revolutionary press. In leadership, the highest members of the Standing Committee of the Municipal Party Committee have and will surely continue to show us the way. I believe that on this occasion, comrades in all echelons and sectors will accurately understand the press and joyfully join efforts with us in work that is usually difficult and complex."

"I sincerely hope that you and your readers will not be disappointed."

7300
CSO: 4209/509

HANOI'S CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS FROM 16 JAN - 15 FEB 86

Hanoi VIETNAM COURIER in English Mar 86 p 32

[Text]

(16 January — 15 February)

JANUARY

15 — 16. **Hanoi**: Holding of a conference of directors of State Banks of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

16 — 17. **Hanoi**: Holding of the Fifth National Congress of Heroes, and Emulation Fighters.

17. **Hanoi**: Signing of a protocol on the exchange of specialists between Vietnam and the Soviet Union for 1986 — 1990.

17 — 18. A delegation of the US Congress, led by Senator Frank H. Murkowski from Alaska, Chairman of the Senate Commission on Veterans' Affairs and Chairman of the Sub-Committee on East Asia and Pacific Affairs, pays a visit to Vietnam.

21 — 31. **Hanoi**: A delegation of the Hungarian Ministry of Health, led by Dr. Imre Hutas, State Secretary of Health, pays a visit to Vietnam. Minutes on health cooperation between Vietnam and Hungary for 1986 — 1990 are signed.

23. **Moscow**: Signing of agreements on economic and technical cooperation and on goods exchange for 1986 — 1990 and a protocol for 1986 between Vietnam and the Soviet Union.

23 — 24. **Vientiane**: Holding of the 12th Indochinese Foreign Ministers Conference (See communiqué of the conference on page 7).

24. **Vientiane**: Signing of an additional treaty on delimitation of state borders and a protocol on the planting of border markers on the whole length of the Vietnam — Laos border.

27. **Hanoi**: Signing of minutes on economic, scientific and technical cooperation between Vietnam and Mongolia for 1986 — 1990.

29 Jan. — 3 Feb. **Phnom Penh**: Holding of the third conference of General Directors of News Agencies of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

30. **Hanoi**: Establishment of the Vietnam-Algeria Friendship Association with Nguyen Dinh Tu, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and Minister of Higher Education and Secondary Vocational Education, as its President.

— **Berlin**: Signing of a long-term trade agreement on goods exchange and payment between Vietnam and the GDR.

— **Lang Son**: Vietnam returns to China 8 shipwrecked fishermen, and 15 persons captured while illegally intruding into Vietnam.

31. Signing of a protocol on cultural exchange between Vietnam and the Soviet Union for 1986.

FEBRUARY

1 — 5. A delegation of the World Democratic Youth Federation, headed by Nilmos Cserveny, General Secretary of the Federation and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union of Hungary, pays a visit to Vietnam.

4 — 7. **Havana**: A Communist Party of Vietnam delegation, headed by Nguyen Van Linh, Political Bureau member of the CPV Central Committee, attends the 3rd Congress of the Cuban Communist Party.

5 — 7. Austrian Foreign Minister Leopold Grate pays an official friendship visit to Vietnam.

— A Polish Foreign Ministry delegation, headed by Deputy Minister Lan Majewski, pays a friendship visit to Vietnam.

7. **Hanoi**: Signing of a protocol on goods exchange and payment for 1986 between Vietnam and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

12. **Vientiane**: A Vietnamese Buddhist delegation, headed by the Venerable Thich Tri Tinh, President of the Vietnamese Buddhist Church, attends the 7th Congress of the Asian Buddhist Committee for Peace (ABCP).

13. A delegation of the International Bank for Economic Cooperation (IBEC) under the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), led by Zin Zikhadze, President of the Executive Committee of the Bank, pays a friendship visit to Vietnam.

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END

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12 JUNE 1986

Southeast Asia Report

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12 JUNE 1986

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(Thieu Q. Bien; QUAN DOI NHAN DAN, 31 Mar 86)............. 100

/12675

MINISTER SPEAKS ON U.S. PLAN TO LAUNCH SATELLITE

BK221039 Jakarta Domestic Service in Indonesian 0700 GMT 22 May 86

[Text] Minister of Tourism, Posts, and Telecommunications Ahmad Tahir this morning held a working session with the parliament's budget commission in Jakarta. Replying to a question from a commission member on the U.S.-Indonesian talks in Bali on the launching of the Palapa B-2-P communications satellite, Ahmad Tahir said that the United States is aware of the importance of the satellite for Indonesia's domestic communications system. The U.S. side will study the plan to launch and give priority to the launching of the Palapa B-2-P communications satellite.

On state revenues earned from leasing the Palapa B-1 satellite transponders in 1985, the minister said that the government earned 4,743,500,000 rupiah, consisting of 1,650,000,000 rupiah from domestic customers and 3,093,500,000 rupiah from ASEAN and non-ASEAN customers. Other revenues earned from the utilization of the satellite transponders stood at 2,289,000,000 rupiah.

Speaking on tourism, Ahmad Tahir said that an agressive promotional campaign is needed to attract foreign tourists because of the keen competition from other countries. Such a campaign must be suppported by activities to facilitate the arrival of foreign tourists in the country.

This morning's working session with the parliament's budget commission was attended by high-ranking officials of the Department of Tourism, Posts, and telecommunications and officials of the state-owned enterprises related to the department.

/12913
CSO: 4213/149

COMMENTARY LABELS REAGAN 'INTERNATIONAL MURDERER'

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 24 Apr 86 p 4

[Commentary: "Reagan, an International Murderer"]

[Text] Though the United States, the imperialist leader, and its allies exercise their right to defend the cruel and savage acts of the Reagan administration in openly invading Libya, the discerning masses of the world clearly understand that peace- and justice-loving people would not order warplanes to kill innocent people in an independent country and that they would not use force to solve any problem. If it were not the style of a thief and a murderer there would be no one who would accuse the victims of being provocateurs or wrongdoers while the people of the other nation are dying and moaning in pain as a result of his hand. Such savage and disgraceful acts are being committed and carried out by the U.S. president. What is even worse is that he announced that the cruel murders would continue. Thus, there is nothing strange about Reagan's reputation as president and also as a world terrorist, a cruel and inhuman murderer of the era.

Such is the actual behavior of the head of the White House. Nothing in his behavior is useful to the world or to the American people. When other countries are not willing to obey his commands he uses force to punish them, as when he ordered tens of warplanes to attack Libya, a most savage act which was undeniably a form of state terrorism. Having warplanes drop bombs on a small country 15,000 km from the United States clearly revealed his warmongering and his warlord attitude. In addition, after murdering others he also accused the victims who were killed or robbed of being wrongdoers. Even worse is his accusation that Libya is a threat to the security of the United States. We do not know why the president gave an untrustworthy talk with no evidence. A small nation like Libya absolutely cannot become a threat to the security of a powerful nation like the United States. Then what laws was Washington referring to when it lied that it was "using its right to self-defense"? Reagan's savagery and cruelty are not only shown by his ordering warplanes to attack Libya, but are definite traits of an international criminal. Not many years previous to this, Reagan himself ordered naval forces to invade and occupy Grenada. He ordered warplanes to hijack a civilian Egyptian airliner and supported Israeli terrorists in bombing Baghdad and Tunisian cities by plane. Reagan not only ordered his troops to murder the people in the nations he considered his enemies but also sent weapons, war equipment, and advisors to wage war against the Nicaraguans, Angolans, Afghanistanis, etc. THe worst thing is that Reagan has na innate belief in the nuclear arms race and plans to deploy weapons in space in order to prepare to destroy the world and to murder all mankind. All this evidence is sufficient proof of Ronald Reagan's cruel and bloody acts. When the peace- and justice-loving people demanded that he stop his bloody acts, the head of the White House instead remarked that "we will do it again if necessary." This shows the direct use of savage and inhuman means in international relations by Washington, which clearly violates international law.

Moreover, it indicates the evil intentions and dark schemes of Washington and its allies who always act as though they were above international law and that they are superior in the world. They do whatever they want to. However, this is an era of peace, and the use of violence and force as in the Stone Age passed long ago. By resisting the justice and interests of the peace-loving peoples and by being against the demands of the era, they must be punished by history and, without a doubt, the powerful forces of the era.

9884/9312
CSO: 4206/97

LAOS

'TALK' BLASTS THAIS FOR LAO RESISTANCE, ECONOMIC BLOCKADE

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 25 Mar 86 pp 3,4

['Talk' column: "Prem Government Keeps People from Hearing and Seeing"]

[Excerpt] The leading Thai circle is afraid of the truth because its domestic and foreign policies have been revealed as wrong. They are afraid that the Thai people will know about their crimes and dirty acts in serving foreign invaders and that they are sinking deeply into serving the expansionist plans of the Chinese reactionaries. The reactionaries in the Thai power clique then used another technique to close the eyes and ears of the Thai people by such methods as accusing and slandering others, for example, neighboring countries. Their regular victims are Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia. The truth is that the Thai people and the peoples in this region well know that Laos has never committed any crimes against the Thai people, as is also true for the Vietnamese and Cambodians. Every undesirable incident in the relationship between the Thai people and the peoples in neighboring countries today comes from the dirty work of the Thai ultrarightist reactionaries. Especially in the case of Laos and Cambodia, Thai ultrarightist reactionaries up to now have also taken in the reactionaries who fled to Thailand. Along with the Chinese reactionaries, they are fed, trained, and organized and then ordered to return to resist the LPDR and the construction of a new life for the Cambodian people. For example, in Laos [Mrs] Tiu, 30, from Takan Village and Subdistrict and Takan District, Ubon Province, was captured in Savannakhet Province on 9 June 1984, and [Mrs] Sommai, 25, from Khemmalat District, Ubon Province, was captured in Savannakhet Province on 2 August 1984. These two confessed that they were sent into Laos in order to persuade Lao people to flee to Thailand.

Organizations called "refugee camps" along the Thai-Lao border have been established to help the Lao reactionary exiles set up headquarters to send in and order these people to return to engage in destructive actions in Laos. Besides political and military destructive movements whose aim is to interfere with and to encroach upon Laos, they also put economic pressure upon Laos, such as by hoarding goods by labeling them "strategic goods" and by many other methods. All these are great crimes of the Thai ultrarightist reactionaries committed against their neighboring countries. However, the Thai people might not know all this because, besides being blindfolded as reported in the SIAMRAT newspaper, they were also pitifully under a dark power and became "outspoken against the government." Finding themselves in a bad economic situation, the mass media and the common people as well cannot say anything. When a society lacks fundamental rights such as this, how can we say that the Thai people live in a democracy?

9884/9312
CSO: 4206/97

LAOS

ADMINISTRATION HAILS OVERSEAS CHINESE ASSOCIATION'S EDUCATION HELP

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 10 Mar 86 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Signing for Loan of Leo Tou School Classrooms"]

[Text] An official agreement was marked between the Vientiane Association of Overseas Chinese and the Vientiane Municipality Education Section regarding the loan of Leo Tou School classrooms on the morning of 8 March in the school's conference room in Chanthaburi District, Vientiane Municipality.

Mr Khamphong Phanvongsa, deputy minister of the Education Ministry, party member and chief of the Vientiane Municipality Education Section, and Mr Tang Seuk Ching, president of the Vientiane Association of Overseas Chinese, signed a contractual agreement concerning the loan of Leo Tou School classrooms. It was signed in front of Dr Siho Bannavong, deputy chairman of the Vientiane Municipality Administration, party members, the Chanthaburi Administration Committee, organizations and Chinese in Vientiane; there were 100 guests present.

These empty classrooms were loaned out to be used for common interests in education, to increase solidarity and understanding between overseas Chinese in Vientiane and the people of Vientiane and to make an educational place for young Lao so that they are able to serve the country and develop socialism in our country. The loaning out of these empty classrooms was scheduled for 5 years, from October 1985 to October 1990.

12587/12859
CSO: 4206/92

VIENTIANE PARTY CHIEF DIES, CAREER PROFILED

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 7 Mar 86 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Vientiane Party Committee Mourn Death of Chief"]

[Text] The morning of 6 February 1986, the party committee, the Vientiane Municipality Administration Committee headed by Comrade Major Siboun and its regular committee members, and Comrade Dr Siho Bannavong, deputy chairman of Vientiane Municipality, laid wreaths to mourn the death of Comrade Khamphai Oundala, head of the Vientiane Party Committee, who died in Vientiane Province from a sudden illness.

On this occasion, the Vientiane Province Administration, every section and every mass organization in Vientiane Province also mourned the death of the Comrade Chief of the Vientiane Party Committee, who died suddenly in Vientiane at 5:30 pm on 4 March 1986. Comrade Khamphai Oundala was 62 years old. He was born in 1924 to a peasant family in Ban Na Hoi Pang, Na Thiem Canton, Na Sai Thong District, Vientiane Province. He was the son of Thit Oun and Mrs Phouang. He joined the revolution on 2 March 1953 and became a party member on 2 October 1956. In 1957-59, he returned to move around local villages in Na Sai Thong, Phon Hong, Keo Oudom and Toulakhom Districts. In 1972, he was nominated to be the chief of the western Vientiane Party Committee; in 1975, he was nominated to be the chief of the western Vientiane Party Committee; in 1975, he was delegated to head the special party that led the masses in seizing power in Vientiane for the people of Vientiane. In 1979, he was nominated to be the deputy chief of Vientiane Province and the Vientiane Municipality Party. In 1982, he was nominated to be the chief of the Vientiane Party Committee.

12587/12859
CSO: 4206/92

'TALK' COLUMN CALLS FOR INCREASED SECURITY IN VIENTIANE

Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao 14 Mar 86 p 2

[Column: "Special Interest in Security Task at Provincial Party Committee General Congress"]

[Excerpts] The party committee and Vientiane Capital Administration Committee have been able to protect securely the vulnerable new regime over the last decade under the guidance of the party, particularly in Vientiane Municipality. We have been able to destroy and thoroughly defeat all the schemes and deceptions of the enemy that are aimed at destroying our revolution.

We know well that the recent general congress of the Vientiane Party Committee was very important, how hard the people of Vientiane worked and what they have done to commemorate and welcome this historic general congress, which was successful from its start to its finish.

Also, we should not be careless about the destructive schemes of the enemy that sought to destroy our revolution by causing turmoil during the general congress of the Vientiane Party Committee. We realize that the enemy has always wanted to destroy our revolution and that the enemy has increased all its activities and its many ways of spying in Vientiane Capital, the heart of our country. The enemy looked for ways to send in its units of destruction to disturb us during the preparations for the ceremonies and general congress for the Vientiane Municipality Party Committee. The enemy created as much tension as possible in various places. They used force to attack in some places where we were careless; for example, offices of organizations, villages outside urban areas, military units, police stations and offices near the border and other places.

Therefore, the defense and security tasks were very important and closely tied in with the masses. We urge everyone to take total charge of these tasks and to be our eyes and ears in following up the activities of local spies and reactionaries and those who actively threaten society. We should concentrate on tightly patrolling offices in cities, villages, and border areas. Each family must take charge in controlling those who come into and leave villages. We must be responsible to protect the common interest and to preserve the order of society and the country to make them safe.

12587/12859
CSO: 4206/92

SHAREHOLDERS' SALES CO-OP OPERATION, TAX PAYMENTS DESCRIBED

Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao 11 Mar 86 p 2

[Column: "Shareholder Coops of Chanthaburi District Growing"]

[Excerpt] A shareholder meat enterprise in Chanthaburi District, Vientiane Municipality, was set up in June 1985. Then it was only a small meat cooperative that bought and sold pork, beef and buffalo meat, with a small number of shareholders.

At present, this shareholder coop consists of an administrative committee with 5 comrades and 253 workers, of which 163 are females, with a cash flow of 2,530,000 kip and 219 shareholders. It has experienced difficulties because animal husbandry is not popular around this district; the number of animals to be slaughtered for meat for sale in the market is small but demand is great. But because of their high sense of responsibility, the cadres and state employees of the shareholder meat enterprise of Chanthaburi District have striven to overcome these difficulties and they are determined to work creatively on their task. They continuously contact and coordinate with different sources, which has enabled this enterprise to sell an adequate amount of meat to the general public to meet demand at reasonable prices. Over the last 6 months of 1985, the enterprise was able to buy 842 cows that yielded 83,410 kilograms of meat and bones; 889 water buffalo that yielded 129,558 kilograms of meat and bones, and 5,735 hogs that yielded 267,995.7 kilograms of meat and bones.

In summary, this enterprise has generated total revenues of 28,438,972 kip and yielded 8,744 kilograms of meat for meeting obligations to the state. Total profits from the enterprise have been 1,034,879 kip. Shareholder holdings average 371,112 kip. In addition, this enterprise has also donated 589,937 kip for the welfare of workers who perform outstandingly and successfully in improving the standard of living. The enterprise has policies for the families of workers who die and get sick; it has supported families of deceased workers with a total fund of 25,350 kip and 40,000 kip worth of medicines and treatments. Its workers have performed their duty well because the Chanthaburi District Administration Committee and Chanthaburi Trade Section have given their complete attention to guiding this enterprise and its members have been aware and carried out their business enthusiastically. These have made the enterprise grow tremendously.

12587/12859
CSO: 4206/92

LAOS

LETTERS COLUMN ADDRESSES SEXUAL PERVERSION IN TEMPLE

Vientiane PASASON in Lao 12 Mar 86 pp 2, 4

[Column: "The Superstitious Doctor"]

[Excerpt] I have some questions about what religion is. The story goes:

One day my friends and I went and played for the first time with an old man who is a fortune teller in the temple. The old man said that my fortune was bad. He told me to go and buy wax and candles to bring to him and that he would wash away my bad fortune. The following day, 15 February 1986, at 7:00 pm, I went to see him in his sleeping quarters, something which I had not done before. The old man, the fortune teller, counted and blessed some water and he told me that he would bathe me to wash away my bad fortune. After that, the old man took me to a small room walled by galvanized sheet 15 m away from the sleeping quarters. He asked me to undress and he rubbed me and he told me I should not wash myself. He gave me a bath and wiped me and he was going to molest me. I saw the circumstances so I got away from his arms, grabbed my clothes and dressed myself. However, the fortune teller still came and tried to embrace me. After I got dressed, I ran home and I was ashamed. This is the story. I want to ask you three questions:

1. If the old man loved me like his own child or grandchild, why did he do such dirty and disgusting acts since I am a male like him?

2. If women went and had him wash away their bad fortune, would it cause any damage if he did to them what he did to me?

3. Is it correct to practice Buddhism this way? Why is the community still keeping this kind of thing in the pagoda?

Please explain this to me. Work hard. Best wishes.

From: Brother Dong Phongphaipadat

Dear Dong Phongphaipadat,

I read your letter. I was very interested that you as a progressive young man in the new regime are still superstitious. If you were my child, I would spank you because you disobeyed your parents. Your parents told you to study and not believe in superstitution, but you did not listen. In the end, you had this experience. Now do you believe that your parents are right or wrong?

In my opinion, the fortune teller is a dirty old man. He likes his own sex; he is a homosexual. He sets himself up as a fortune teller or someone with certain supernatural powers in order to commit crimes because he makes people superstitious. He is not classified as a Buddhist; he is a Brahman, someone who believes in spirits and ghosts.

The party and the state have measures concerning this problem to cleanse and eradicate all these various superstitions in order to make these people believe in science. For your self satisfaction and for the country, it is best for you to again contact the local administration, which has ways to execute this dirty fortune teller. Otherwise, this fortune teller will continue to go and give propaganda and make people superstitious, and that would create problems again.

Good bye.

12587/12859
CSO: 4206/92

LAOS

BRIEFS

NEW IRANIAN ENVOY--Vientiane, May 22 (KPL)--Souphanouvong, president of the Lao PDR and the People's Supreme Assembly received here, on May 21, the new Iranian ambassador Reza Hoseyn Mirza-Tameni who called on him at the presidential palace to present credentials. The two sides discussed many issues and stressed on the strengthening of the relations of friendship between Laos and Iran. President Souphanouvong, on this occansion, wished the new ambassador successes in fulfilling his diplomatic mission in Laos. The ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Islamic Republic of Iran has his office in Bangkok (Thailand). [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0901 GMT 22 May 86 BK] /12624

VONGVICHIT LEAVES FOR MPR--Vientiane, May 22 (KPL)--A delegation of the LPRP headed by Phoumi Vongvichit, Politburo member of the LPRP CC, Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, left here on May 21, for Mongolia to attend the 19th congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party which is to be held on May 28. Later, the Lao delegation will flight [as received] to the Polish People's Republic to attend the 10th congress of the Polish United Worker's Revolutionary Party to be held on next June 29. The delegation was seen off at the airport by Sisomphon Lovansai, Politburo-member of the LPRP CC, vice-chairman of the PSA and other high ranking officials. 5jugneeguine Shishmishg [name as received], charge d'affairs of the MPR to Laos, and Engenius Matuszczak [name as received], charge d'affairs of the PPR to Laos, were also present at the airport. [Text] [Vientiane KPL in English 0903 GMT 22 May 86 BK] /12624

RADAR STATION IN LAOS--The Supreme Command Information Office on 23 May reported on the situation along the Thai-Lao border, saying that in the past week 400 Vietnamese troops conducted a training session for Lao soldiers and carried out a survey on areas along the Mekong River from Savannakhet Province down to Songkhon District. In Bolikhamsai Province, Vietnamese troops conducted a troop rotation in areas opposite Pakkhat subdistrict of Nong Khai Province. Since there was a conflict between Vietnamese troops and Lao soldiers in Paksan District, part of the Lao force was withdrawn because the Vietnamese were afraid that some Lao soldiers might support the resistance group. In Sayaboury Province, Vietnamese troops were sent to reinforce Lao soldiers in suppressing the resistance group. Moreover, Lao authorities sent Soviet and Vietnamese technicians to control the construction of a radar station in the airport in Sayaboury Province. The Lao soldiers carried out a provocation against the Thai side on one occasion. They intruded onto Thai soil and clashed with a Thai patrol unit in Buntharik District of Ubon Ratchathani Province. [Text] [Bangkok NAEO NA in Thai 25 May 86 p 16 BK] /12624

REFUGEES RETURN TO DOMICILES--Hat Saifong of the Refugee Welcoming Committee of Vientiane Municipality organized a welcoming ceremony for 39 Lao people, of which 9 were females and 11 children, who had mistakenly fled the country but returned to their domiciles. The ceremony was conducted in front of two committees representing Vientiane Municipality and Nong Khai Province and of the UNHCR representative for Laos and Thailand. These erring people were welcomed and assisted warmly by the Vientiane Municipality Administration. They were sent back to their former domiciles at their own request. [Text] [Vientiane VIENTIANE MAI in Lao 17 Mar 86 pp 1, 4] 12587/12859

MONG SETTLEMENT--Early this year the people of ethnic groups who had lived in the mountains since ancient times engaging in highland cultivation came down to settle and engage in rice growing in the plains area. Outstanding groups are the 20 Mong families in Densai Canton, 56 Mong families in Hom District, 32 Mong families in Feuug District, and 76 families in Phon Hong who are actively engaging in settled production on the plains based on the allocation made by the local administrative committee. [Excerpts] [Vientiane PASASON in Lao 31 Mar 86 p 1] 9884/9312

SARAVANE DISTRICT SECURITY, COOPERATIVES--Kong Sedone, Saravane District, is a district with a population of 38,313 people of three races, Thai Lao, Thai, and Katang. Under the capable and brilliant supervision of the party and government they step by step attacked and suppressed the reactionary exiles and the enemies' nests in various locations within their own district areas. The coops in Kong Sedone District have increased 75.21 percent, by 5,427 families, or 83.46 percent of the families district wide. There is a total of 27,227 coop members, or approximately 71.06 percent of the population throughout the district. There is a total of 6,837 hectares of ricefields owned by the coops, or 74 percent of the total ricefields throughout the district. [Excerpts] [Vientiane PASASON in Lao 24 Apr 86 pp 2, 4] 9884/9312

OUDOMSAI RICE TAXES, SALES--Houn is a district with rich natural resources and the most flat land in Oudomsai Province. It is able to collect agricultural taxes from coops and farmers of ethnic groups at least over 700 tons every year, particularly in 1985-86, when throughout Houn District it came to 742 tons and 125.5 kg, or 94.18 percent of the plan set by the province this year. Besides paying agricultural taxes with the rice they produce, the farmers of ethnic groups in Houn District also exchange their family surplus rice for a lot of government goods. Based on the district report in 1985, Houn District purchased 1,045 tons and 767.9 kg of rice. For 1986 the people of ethnic groups throughout Houn District brought their family surplus rice to sell and to exchange for government goods more than in years past. [Excerpts] [Vientiane PASASON in Lao 24 Apr 86 p 2] 9884/9312

CSO: 4206/97

MALAYSIA

JAPANESE PLEDGE TO AID INDUSTRY

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 26 Apr 86 p 1

[Article by Sharif Haron]

[Text]

JAPANESE industrialists have pledged their cooperation in efforts to promote industries in Malaysia utilising primary commodities and to develop market outlets for such products.

The industrialists who are officials of the Japan-Malaysia Economic Cooperation Association (Jameca) made this pledge in a joint communique at the end of the ninth annual conference between their association and its Malaysian counterpart, Majeca, the Malaysia-Japan Economic Cooperation Association.

Jameca said it will assist such industries by providing marketing knowhow and advise Malaysian companies to use the services of the Japan External Trade Organisation (Jetro) and Japan Chamber of Trade and Industry, Malaysia (Jactim) in the promotion of export of manufactured goods to Japan.

It was agreed, however, that there was need to further improve Malaysian manufactured goods to meet the market requirements in Japan.

The conference ended yesterday with both sides agreeing that the discussions had successfully paved the way for meaningful and mutually beneficial cooperation and agreements in future.

"Although there have been no concrete agreements, we hold similar views in many cases and with follow-up discussions in a serious way, chances are there will be greater cooperation between the Malaysian and Japanese private sector," said Masami Ishii, the Jameca president.

"We agreed that the various reports and recommendations will be taken to the relevant authorities," Majeca president Raja Tan Sri Mohar Raja Badiosaman told a news conference at the end of the talks in Kuala Lumpur.

The joint communique issued at the end of the two-day conference noted that there had been useful discussions in several areas including tourism, technology transfer, construction, shipping and insurance and primary products.

Jameca said although Japanese involved in joint ventures in Malaysia are generally happy with existing conditions, Malaysia can do better through the relaxation of working permits, a satisfactory formulae for payments of royalties and improved infrastructure.

"One outstanding problem is on work permits but our request for favourable treatment has yielded no positive results. Still, Japanese companies in Malaysia must have confidence of every success or else firms in Japan will not come," Mr Ishii added.

On tourism, the conference recognised the importance of the industry to the Malaysian economy in terms of foreign exchange earnings and the provision of employment opportunities.

Recommendations in the reports will be brought to the governments where their approval and assistance are required, such as in the case getting landing rights for the Malaysian Airline System in Osaka.

In other areas of the tourism industry the private sectors of both countries can handle, greater cooperation will be encouraged.

In construction, and shipping and insurance industries, further avenues for future cooperation will continue to be explored.

Similarly, too, in technology transfer although it was agreed that in order for it to be successful, the recipients should be adequately prepared to absorb.

Looking back at all the conferences, Raja Tan Sri Mohar said: "The most tangible result from the conferences is the development of understanding and close friendship of the private sector of both countries."

The 10th conference will be held in Japan next year.

/9317
CSO: 4200/1065

MALAYSIA

MAHATHIR ON ISLAMIC BANK SYSTEM

Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 29 Apr 86 pp 1, 5

[Article by Nor Hawa Yunus]

[Text]

KUALA LUMPUR, Mon. — Datuk Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad today called for an Islamic banking system that stresses not just the letter but also the spirit of Quranic injunctions in that loans should not be a burden, but a help, to those in need.

The Prime Minister said Muslims had been obsessed with form rather than substance in their interpretation of Islamic finance and commerce.

Thus the Islamic banks and financial institutions that exist today are but an embryonic form of the Islamic banking and financial systems that Muslims need.

"They do business in a very restricted environment. Indeed the system of forward apportionment of profits results in repayment that are more onerous than interests," he said when opening the seminar on *Developing an Islamic Financial Framework*.

In Islam, it is important that the right people do the right job — if someone is chosen to deal in a subject he is ignorant of, his contribution can have undesirable results.

"As banking is not just business, nor is it solely a matter of Islamic jurisprudence, and as lending and borrowing have vast social implications, it is important that relevant experts participate in a seminar and their views heeded.

"We would not like to see Islamic banks oppress their clients more than the ordinary commercial banks."

He hopes the seminar will propose banking systems that will be just to all, that will not oppress one group at the expense of another.

The Prime Minister dealt at length on the subject of Muslims' obsession with form in their interpretation of Islam.

"We concentrate on insignificant matters, on forms and appearances, while the total welfare and well-being of the Muslims, which are enjoined upon us to protect and promote, are ignored."

Islam is all-encompassing, governing every aspect of human behaviour, not just a set of rituals regarding how to pay obeissance to God, although this is also part of the religion.

But despite being followers of a religion concerned with a way of life, Muslims seem to care only for death and retribution and little for the effect on life of Muslim society.

"The beliefs of the *Jahiliah* period — when sufferings on earth were supposed to confer merit — influence our thinking so that we seem to want to punish ourselves on earth in order to enjoy the hereafter."

The *Jahiliah* period — the Muslim Dark Age — refers to the pre-Quranic era, when the Meccans were mostly pagans who had strayed from the teachings of the prophets before Muhammad.

Muslims have succeeded in rendering themselves destitute in the midst of plenty by placing impediments in the way of their relief work.

Thus, despite Islamic injunctions against waste, that Muslims should do charity and help the poor, for a long time the huge number of animals sacrificed during the Haj were just buried in the desert sands.

"We are told that we cannot distribute the meat in case some nonbelievers get to eat it. Is this in fact what Islam wants of us as a way of life? Does Allah want so many of the *ummah* to suffer and die because a morsel might go to the unbelievers?"

Muslims also face the same situation in the field of finance by defining interest, no matter how small, as *riba* (usury).

Millions of dollars of Muslim money were deposited in non-Muslim banks in non-Muslim countries.

"Whether we accept the interest is irrelevant," Dr Mahathir said. "The fact is that money will be lent out by those banks with interest, sometimes to the enemies of Islam. These non-Muslim banks enjoy the interest earned by our money when the interest can very well finance the welfare of Muslims.

"We are deprived of this help because it is *riba* as a form that we abhor, not *riba* as a cause of misery — the reason why *riba* is forbidden by Islam."

This obsession with form rather than substance is also seen in commerce.

Profits of 1,000 per cent were made at one time from the sale of petroleum, but the high price of petroleum deprived many poor people, including the Muslim *ummah*, from a means of sustenance.

"Clearly, the taking of this very excessive profit has caused misery to a lot of people, but we interpret Islamic teaching as saying that this excessive profit is not a crime as compared to the taking of even the smallest amount of interest.

"We ignore the misery we cause, as if being miserable is a way of life in Islam. Is it true that Islam does not care for the pain and oppression that is caused as long as its injunctions are obeyed?"

The Prime Minister realises he is sticking his neck out by asking all these questions.

"It is imprudent for a politician to go against the mainstream of thinking in society.

"But I believe in Allah and the Prophet.

"The scholars of the past and of today are no doubt learned, but they are not prophets and they are not infallible. Some scholars of today have other motivations which are sometimes far from Islamic."

He is not questioning his faith and his religion, but the interpretations of the Quran and the Hadis made by scholars past and present.

Muslims have frittered away their money and time, and if they are not fighting or plotting against each other, they are busy quibbling over insignificant matters or arguing endlessly over words.

"As a result, the bounty that Allah has bestowed upon the *ummah* has not made us any better."

About 24 participants from 19 countries are attending the week-long seminar jointly organised by the Ministry of Finance and the Islamic Development Bank.

/9317
CSO: 4200/1065

MALAYSIA

RACIAL POLARIZATION IN SCHOOLS CAUSES CONCERN

Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 30 Apr 86 p 3

[Text]

KOTA BARU, Tues. — The Government is concerned over the trend of racial polarisation which has reared its ugly head in primary schools, Trade and Industry Minister Tengku Razaleigh Hamzah said today.

This could frustrate efforts to strengthen unity among the people, he said at the launching of the golden jubilee celebrations of the Sultan Ismail College here by the Sultan of Kelantan.

Guide

He called on all Malaysians to unite and solve the problem, adding that they should guide the younger generation towards national unity.

Tengku Razaleigh, who is also adviser to the college's Old Boys' Association, said educationists and parents should not be influenced by political ideologies and should help fight racial polarisation.

He added that polarisation was also evident among Muslims owing to political, economic and social differences and parochialism.

"This is a loss to the country," he said.

Present was the Raja Perempuan of Kelantan, Menteri Besar Datuk Haji Mohamed Yaacob and Deputy Menteri Besar Datuk Haji Ariffin Said. — Bernama

/9317
CSO: 4200/1065

MALAYSIA

PEPPER EXPORT EARNINGS REPORTED

Kuala Lumpur BUSINESS TIMES in English 29 Apr 86 p 5

[Article by Hardev Kaur]

[Text]

MALAYSIA earned $140.8 million in foreign exchange from its export of pepper in 1985 compared with $79.4 million in the previous year. This increase of 77 per cent is attributed to high prices — in fact the highest in 25 years.

During the year, Malaysia exported 19,100 tonnes of pepper, an increase of 15 per cent from the 16,603 tonnes exported in 1984. The bulk of the exports, 13,670 tonnes or 72 per cent, comprised black pepper while 5,430 tonnes or 28 per cent was white pepper.

The major market was Singapore, which accounted for 64.2 per cent of total export. The republic remains the traditional and intermediate market for Malaysian exports.

Malaysian pepper is also sold directly, mainly to Japan which took 2,307 tonnes last year.

The other major importers were West Germany (1,274 tonnes) and US (200 tonnes) in the first nine months of last year. Exports to the US are expected to increase due to declining stocks in Brazil and Indonesia, both major suppliers of pepper to the US.

The government is making efforts to promote direct export to consuming countries. In this respect, the Pepper Marketing Board is actively participating in international food fairs, expositions, exhibitions and market promotion campaigns.

The Ministry of Primary Industries forecasts that the short-term prospects for pepper this year and next are bright. It adds that the present tight supply situation worldwide is likely to continue for a few more years. This will be mainly due to:

■ The rehabilitation programmes and new plantings carried out in producing countries that require at least two to three years to mature:

■ The lower stock positions both in producing countries and intermediate markets because of stock releases to cash in on attractive prices that prevailed in 1984/1985, and;

■ Demand outstriping supply and the gap continuing until new supplies are forthcoming.

Malaysia is the fourth largest producer of pepper in the world. According to the Ministry of Primary Industries, global pepper production in 1985 is estimated to have declined by 10 per cent to 120,000 tonnes, compared with 133,000 tonnes in 1984.

Indonesia, the largest producer, accounted for about 34 per cent (41,000 tonnes), India 21.3 per cent (25,500 tonnes), Brazil 20.8 per cent (25,000 tonnes), Malaysia 13 per cent (16,000 tonnes) and the balance accounted for by Madagascar, Sri Lanka, Thailand, China and Vietnam.

India, Indonesia, Brazil and Malaysia are members of the International Pepper Community (IPC) and together they account for about 90 per cent of the world's total production.

The Ministry of Primary Industries noted that exportable surplus from pepper producing countries in 1985 was about 105,000 tonnes or a decline of 12 per cent compared with 119,000 tonnes in 1984.

Malaysia's pepper production has been on the decline since 1979 when production was 42,000 tonnes. Since then, output has fallen, reaching 15,000 tonnes in 1984. This is mainly due to depressed market conditions which forced farmers to abandon their farms. But production increased by 6.7 per cent in 1985 to 16,000 tonnes due to higher prices in the world market.

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CSO: 4200/1065

LANGE STRESSES INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY

HK200325 Wellington THE EVENING POST in English 10 May 86 p 5

[Text] (NEW ZEALAND PRESS ASSOCIATION)--The Prime Minister, David Lange, last night argued strongly that an independent foreign policy was necessary to enhance international trading prospects.

In a speech to the Labour Party's Auckland regional conference, he said New Zealand's foreign policy had to reflect its interests.

"Countries which trade in many markets simply cannot afford to be too closely identified with any particular power or protector," he said. Such countries had to adopt a more independent position because that was what suited their trading interests.

He referred to trade threats from United States officials in retaliation against New Zealand's anti-nuclear policies, and said those who demanded New Zealand's foreign policy be subservient to advance trading interests were "not in the real world."

"If anyone thinks that by adopting a dependent foreign policy we can secure ourselves markets they are deluding themselves," Mr Lange said.

It was the common agricultural policy, not New Zealand's anti-nuclear policy, which was causing New Zealand problems with European agricultural surpluses, he said.

"It is the American dairy industry which thinks we sell too much casein to the United States, not the Defence Department."

The suggestion that if New Zealand became obsequious once again such difficulties would be resolved was absurd. New Zealand's foreign policy was a reflection of a country which earned its living by trade in an expanding range of international markets, he said.

"It is pointless in that situation to carry on with a foreign policy best suited to a state of dependence," Mr Lange said.

He said the United States saw the Anzus alliance in terms of global projection of its nuclear power. Test of the military relationship between the two countries would come when anti-nuclear legislation became law.

Visit

Referring to the imminent visit of two British warships to Shanghai--China has an anti-nuclear policy--Mr Lange said the world knew they were conventionally armed. British warships could visit New Zealand under similar circumstances.

"Any nuclear power could do the same if that was what it wanted," Mr Lange said. The difficulty for the military relationship between New Zealand and the United States was that the United States was locked on course. "By its own logic it cannot be seen to have conceded to New Zealand," Mr Lange said.

Mr Lange light-heartedly criticised officials from the British, American and Russian Governments concerning events in New Zealand.

He referred to the recent visit of Admiral of the Fleet Sir John Fieldhouse. "The British sent an admiral out to lecture us this year," he said. "Some of the press here seemed to think Britain had a right to do that and that we should take him seriously. We are not a colony."

The United States Government had been active in Auckland and Wellington trying to establish where the power really lay in the Labour Party. "Several of us are waiting anxiously to hear the result," he said.

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CSO: 4200/1057

LANGE CHIDES FRENCH OVER 'RAINBOW WARRIOR' REMARKS

HK190332 Hong Kong AFP in English 0315 GMT 19 May 86

[Text] Wellington, May 19 (AFP)--New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange said Monday French Defence Minister Henri Giraud was wrong if he thought the Rainbow Warrior affair's problems "could be solved without too much trouble."

Mr Lange was commenting in a statement on reports that Mr Giraud had said "it's good news about bringing home the two French agents" held in New Zealand jails for their part in the Rainbow Warrior bombing.

Mr Giraud was also quoted as saying that discussions on their release "are at a delicate stage."

"Such remarks don't make the task of restoring relations between our two countries any easier," Mr Lange said.

He confirmed that contacts between the two were being maintained through normal diplomatic channels.

But he refused to comment about the future of the two jailed agents.

"They are being dealt with through the New Zealand legal system and are entitled to a degree of protection from constant press speculation," he said.

Mr Lange has said on several occasions that the two jailed agents, Major Alain Mafart and Captain Dominique Prieur, "are not for sale."

He has consistently said the pair would serve their 10-year jail terms imposed for manslaughter and for their part in the conspiracy to bomb the Rainbow Warrior last July 10.

An opposition foreign affairs spokesman, Sir Robert Muldoon, said the report quoting Mr Giraud would not change the minds of the New Zealand public who would not accept any deals to allow the release of the agents.

"There can be no possible way in which the New Zealand Government can do other than ensure that the sentences are carried out," the former prime minister said.

He also rejected as "blackmail" suggestions that France could impose further trade restrictions on New Zealand and veto its butter access to the European Community.

"If the French were using that kind of blackmail it would be entirely unacceptable to New Zealanders.

"Our relationship with France over many years has been a good one. But between friendly countries, that kind of blackmail is totally unacceptable," Sir Robert said.

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CSO: 4200/1057

MARCOS LOYALISTS 'MAY EVENTUALLY LOSE STEAM'

HK200633 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 19 May 86 p 5

[Reported by Marites Danguilan-Vitug]

[Text] The Marcos loyalists look like a steadfast group, as shown in their numbers and frequent rallies, but they may eventually lose steam if their issue is limited to demanding the deposed president's return.

Their anger and energy, now manifested in protest actions, mostly hostile, are also seen to be channeled soon into traditional politics: preparation for and participation in local elections.

At present, the Marcos loyalists are a source of instability to the Aquino administration but intelligence sources in the Armed Forces say they are not capable of a collective effort to launch an offensive against the government. "They are not a solid organization," a ranking intelligence officer said. "Marcos is not capable of financing a revolution here."

A former Malacanang insider stressed the loyalists are not a threat to the Aquino government: "What good can a street mob do?" But he said they are not being handled properly; this may cause their ranks to grow.

Some in the loyalist group, however, are known warlords, while others have kept a number of firearms under the Marcos regime.

"They don't even need to deliberately organize their armed support. The arms are available," a former Marcos adviser told BUSINESS DAY.

Others are military men from the former Presidential Security Command and National Intelligence and Security Agency (NISA) who have been sent to the field for retraining. They feel they are being discriminated upon (they are used to city assignments) and look at the new assignments as a form of punishment, the former Marcos adviser said.

Most likely, obversers say, the firearms from the warlords and the military loyalists will be used for political violence come election time.

But the loyalists face a difficulty: they lack a visible, strong and credible leadership which will rally them to causes other than Marcos. Some officials in the Marcos administration directly or indirectly supporting the mass actions share a common view: the loyalists should expand and elevate their cause to include "return to constitutionalism" and "fight against communism."

The former Marcos adviser said "Marcos is politically finished." He also pointed out that young and important figures should take over from Marcos.

Roque Ablan, Ilocos Norte governor and a close friend of Marcos, thinks similarly: the deposed president "might still be a king-maker" but not king. He thus advises the loyalists to "step pout" of the Marcos issue and pursue the fight on other fronts, primarily, the advocacy of stability in government through "constitutionalism."

The former legal adviser to Marcos explained the absence of issues: "Nobody (among the loyalists) is that far-thinking or devious yet. They're not thinking yet of testing the new administration's stability. They're merely looking for events to catch media attention."

Apart from the rallies, the loyalists scheduled a proclamation of Arturo Tolentino as vice-president, which did not push through because they were dispersed by the police. Next in their plan is a march from Batac, Ilocos Norte to Manila.

The march is meeting with disapproval.

"I do not have anything against the rallies. But I'd rather that we wait and voted in the elections. That's the most sensible thing to do. A coward who runs away today can come back to fight another day," Alban told BUSINESS DAY.

Despite the short-term view of the loyalists -- create trouble and portray themselves as strong and the government weak through media -- and their fixation over Marcos, they have their assets: reports say they are well-funded and have the capability to mobilize Ilocos residents and ferry them to Metro Manila and house and feed them.

Unconfirmed military reports cite some Marcos regime officials as behind the planning and organization, including the funding, of the rallies. Among them are Jonathan de la Cruz, former adviser to Bongbong Marcos and a ministry of labor official. De la Cruz denies any involvement in the loyalist mass actions. He said that, if asked, he would advise them to tackle other issues besides Marcos and give an ideological tone to their causes.

But, de la Cruz said, the loyalists have more potential to grow and become a strong opposition because of the liberal atmosphere under President Aquino compared to the opposition during the martial law years of Marcos.

While many among those attending loyalist rallies are paid or die-hard Marcos followers, some have a valid cause: among them, as casual employees, dismissed from work upon the assumption of new ministers into office. However, this issue is not articulated by their rally speakers and neither is it written on their placards, if they carry any at all.

Sympathizers of loyalists say this is reflective of the lack of effective leadership. "Nobody important enough articulates this. Instead, they have vicious speakers, lesser names, whose remarks the crowd laps up," a former Marcos adviser said. He looks at the rallies as "mere expressions of outrage."

This Marcos adviser said that in a survey conducted by independent research groups for Malacanang before the 7 February snap presidential elections, the results showed that 75 percent of government employees in Metro Manila were for President Aquino. He said part of this group was recently dismissed from work: "These are people so easy to get for the new government... They'll work with any administration."

The adviser said the government should discuss the problem intelligently "instead of thinking about it as a Marcos-directed conspiracy from the U.S." A military intelligence [as published] agreed. "The best way to handle the loyalists is to identify the causes (of their joining up). If those with valid cause can be isolated and their problem responded to, then we will have a smaller number of loyalists," he said.

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CSO: 4200/1056

MINISTRY RELEASES LIST OF ACTING GOVERNORS

HK140637 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 13 May 86 p 23

[Text] The Ministry of Local Governments (MLG) has released the names of 68 officers-in-charge [OICS] out of the 76 designated provincial governors by Local Governments Minister Aquilino Pimentel Jr.

Of the 68 OICS, only 11 are members of PDP-Laban [Pilipino Democratic Party-Lakas ng Bayan], Pimentel's party. This disclosure refuted anew the allegation that Pimental has been stuffing provincial governments with his political partymates, MLG sources said.

Pimental has also furnished United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO) with the list of all OICS so far designated, sources said, adding that the minister is set to meet the UNIDO and the Liberal Party [LP] representatives this week.

LP representative, Secretary-general Abraham Sarmiento, complained about the way Pimental has been meeting separately and not collectively with UNIDO and LP representatives.

Sarmiento also refuted Pimentel's statement that the controversy on the OIC appointments was a "settled matter" among the political parties involved. Sermiento said LP is still contesting several appointments.

The following are the OIC governors released by the MLG to BUSINESS DAY: Region I. Ilocos Norte--Castor Raval; Abra--none; Ilocos Sur--Pablito Sanidad (who is reportedly declining the appointment); Mountain Province--Saturnino Moldero (PDP-Laban); La Union--Roberto Dulay (PDPOL); Benguet--Bantas Suanding; Pangasinan--Demetrio Demetria.

Region II. Batanes--none; Cagayan--Benjamin Ligot; Kalinga-Apayao--William Claver; Isabela--Melanio Singson; Ifugao--Duan Dait Jr.; Nueva Vizcaya--Belen Calderon; Quirino--Filemon Bayangos.

Region III. Nueva Ecija--none; Tarlac--Candido Cuiam; Zambales--Amor Veloso; Pampanga--Bren Guiao (PDP-L), although LP also claims him a member); Bulacan--Roberto Pagdanganan; Bataan--Leonardo Roman (PDP-L).

Region IV. Quezon--Cesar Bolanos; Aurora--Victor Bitong; Riazl--Benjamin Esguerra; Laguna--Felicisimo San Luis; Cavite--none; Batangas--Jose Laurel V; Marinduque--none; Oriental Mindoro--Benjamin Espiritu; Occidental Mindoro--Pedro Medalla; Romblon--Jose Madrid; Palawan--Victoriano Rodriguez.

Region V. Camarines Norte--Roy Padilla; Camarines Sur--Luis Villafuerte; Catanduanes--Leandro Verceles; Albay--none; Sorsogon--Elizalde Diaz (PDP-L); Masbate--Jolly Fernandez.

Region VI. Aklan--Bonifacio Tupaz; Capiz--Gabriel Villareal (former KBL, joined UNIDO before elections); Antique--Enrique Zaldivar (former KBL); Iloilo--Licorgo Tirador; Guimaras--none; Negros del Norte--Jose Puey; Negros Occidental--Bitay Lacson.

Region VII. Cebu--Osmundo Rama; Bohol--none; Negros Oriental--Herminio Teves; Siquijor--Orlando Fua.

Region VIII. Northern Samar--Justiniano Singson; Samar--Antonio Bolastig; Eastern Samar--Jose Ramirez; Leyte--Benjamin Abella; Biliran--Jose Gonzales; Soutnern Leyte--Gaspar Tagalo.

Region IX. Zamboanga del Norte--Isagani Amatong; Zamboanga del Sur--Javier Ariosa; Basilan--Louie Alano; Sulu--Indanan Anni; Tawi-Tawi--Almarim Tillah.

Region X. Surigao del Norte--Wencelito Andanar (PDP-L); Agusan del Norte--Jose Gonzales; Agusan del Sur--Ceferino Paredes Jr.; Misamis Oriental--Vicente Emano (PDP-L); Camiguin-Antonio Gallardo; Bukidnon--Carlos Fortich; Misamis Occidental--Alfonso Tan.

Region XI. Surigao del Sur--Fedlicidad Pimentel (no relation to the minister); Davao Oriental--Josefina Sibala; Davao del Norte--Prospero Amatong; Davao del Sur--Leonardo Suario (PDP-L); South Cotabato--Ismael Sueno.

Region XII. Lanao del Norte--Francisco Abalos; Lanao del Sur--Saidamen Pangarungan (PDP-L); North Cotabato-Rosario Diaz (PDP-L); Maguindanao--Zacariah Candao; Sultan Kudarat--Perfecto Bautista.

The controversy over party affiliation is further clouded by the fact that ranking leaders of the LP, UNIDO and even Pimental use affiliations loosely. For instance, Pimental lumps together under UNIDO all those "non-PDP-Laban members" who linked themselves with UNIDO during the snap polls.

UNIDO and LP also consider as PDP-Laban members those not belonging to LP and UNIDO but to the cause-oriented groups.

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CSO: 4200/1019

INVESTIGATION CONTINUES INTO BREAK-IN AT MALACANANG

HK200815 Manila MANILA BULLETIN in English 19 May 86 pp 1, 14

[Article by Vicente B. Foz]

[Text] The National Bureau of Investigation (NBI) and the Philippine Constabulary Criminal Investigation Service (PC-CIS) joined yesterday the investigation of the robbery at Malacanang between Friday night and early Saturday morning.

This was announced by Col Voltaire Gasmin, head of the Presidential Security Group (PSG), who said it is now a joint Psg-NBI-PC-CIS inquiry, probably to underscore the seriousness of the matter.

Gasmin also said through the Malacanang press center that some officers and enlisted men assigned to the palace had been relieved and replaced by other PSG members as an offshoot of the latest break-in.

The PSG chief did not say whether those relieved were the 10 soldiers posted inside the main Malacanang building when the intruders broke into it last week.

Since the previous break-in last 21 April, the 1-man [as published] detail was assigned to the palace museum every night to prevent a repetition of the serious security breach.

Gasmin did not identify the soldiers who were yanked out of their assignment, possibly because the investigation is still going on. It was not also immediately known whether the same men were assigned to this duty since the 21 April break-in.

It is impossible, Malacanang sources said, that the soldiers on duty inside the main building did not encounter the intruders. Thus, they could have prevented the robbery unless they were overpowered by the robbers and disarmed or they had all fallen alseep at the time of the break-in.

The robbers reportedly took some valuables which up to now have remained undetermined as a new inventory of all items on display at the Malacanang is still going on. Some quarters suspected it was an "inside job."

Prieto said she suspects the same men involved in the first break-in last month did the job again. In both break-ins, the entry point was the engine room on the rooftop of the building, and the men entered the rooms of ex-President Marcos and the former first lady, Mrs Imelda R. Marcos.

Nothing of value was taken in the first break-in, according to the official report of the PSG investigators even as some palace museum volunteers told the BULLETIN some videotapes in the rack in the bedroom of Mrs Marcos had vanished.

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CSO: 4200/1056

WE FORUM ON SOLUTION TO NPA PROBLEM

HK201110 Quezon City WE FORUM in English 13-19 May 86 p 2

[Editorial: "What's the Problem?"]

[Text] The problem in Cagayan is the New People's Army and its marauding bands. Annihilate the NPA and the problem is solved. That's the Enrile-Ramos view.

The NPS's see it another way. The problem in Cagayan is Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and the so-called "warlords," the local politicians whose salaries probably do not exceed P3,000 a month but whose business interests are wide-ranging and exploitative.

The people? They're between the devil and the deep blue sea. They scratch a living as best they can from a troubled land.

The Cagayan situation is the same in other areas infested by NPAs. Is the NPA just a police or military problem? If it is, why can't the military, with about 200,000 men, wipe the insurgents out? These are simple questions that the ordinary folk, in their simple minds, ask. We're sure they are also being asked in the air-conditioned offices in Camp Aguinaldo.

But what is the answer? Marcos' generals captured Jose Maria Sison but that did not stop the growth of the Communist Party of the Philippines [CPP]. They captured Kumander Dante but that only seemed to strengthen the NPA. There must be something else to this problem. Perhaps the people have the answer. But what is the answer?

Who has the better analysis of the problem, the CPP/NPA or the defense and military establishment? Who has the better feel of the pulse of the people, the NPA or the "new" armed forces?

Who really wins in this bloody war? Not the Filipinos, who must pay with taxes for the bullets. Who gains in this war? Who is promoting it?

President Aquino can't possibly profit from it. She will have gained something for her people by bringing her peace initiative to its positive conclusion. So who's stopping her?

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CSO: 4200/1056

TRADE DEFICIT REPORTEDLY WIDENS 277 PERCENT

HK200829 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 19 May 86 p 6

["Economic Indicator" column: "Trade Deficit Jumps 277 Percent in 2 Months"]

[Text] The country's trade deficit widened by a significant 276.94 percent to $53.30 million in January and February from $14.14 million in the corresponding period last year, according to latest Central Bank Data.

Exports amounted to $676.62 million, down 9.55 percent from $748.08 million, while imports dropped 4.24 percent to $729.92 million from $762.23 million.

Trade with the United States resulted in a surplus for the Philippines of $60.79 million, up 76 percent from $34.54 million.

Trade with Japan also yielded a surplus of $29.59 million, down 4.25 percent from $30.91 million.

Trade with the European Economic Community produced a rise in the surplus by 55.12 percent from $26.84 million to $41.63 million, due largely to a favorable trade balance with the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, West Germany and France.

Meanwhile, deficits were recorded in the country's trade with Middle East countries, Economic and Social Council for Asia and the Pacific [ESCAP] countries, and socialist countries.

BALANCE OF TRADE

January - February, 1985 and 1986

(FOB value in thousand U.S. Dollars)

COUNTRY	IMPORTS 1986	IMPORTS 1985	EXPORTS 1986	EXPORTS 1985	SURPLUS (DEFICIT) 1986	SURPLUS (DEFICIT) 1985
Total (all countries)	729,923	762,225	676,619	748,081	(53,304)	(14,144)
United States	174,753	228,798	235,541	263,338	60,788	34,540
Japan	104,276	114,854	133,869	145,760	29,593	30,906
European Economic Community	67,533	67,888	109,166	94,728	41,633	26,840
France	10,648	11,136	13,873	10,459	3,225	(677)
Federal Rep of Germany (West)	24,353	19,800	31,617	22,934	7,264	3,134
Netherlands	8,273	7,330	29,620	25,999	21,347	18,669
United Kingdom	13,107	19,916	25,298	28,3449[as published]	12,191	8,433
Italy	3,761	4,475	3,626	2,771	[135]	[1,704]
Others	7,391	5,231	5,132	4,216	[2,259]	[1,015]
Middle East Countries	65,521	53,003	16,467	9,319	[49,054]	[43,684]
Iraq	23,544	--	--	--	[23,544]	--
Iran	--	16,936	6,540	--	6,510	[16,936]
Kuwait	14	15,025	470	936	456	[14,089]
Saudi Arabia	38,607	11,377	6,270	5,673	[32,337]	[5,704]
Bahrain	--	--	97	233	97	233
Others	3,356	9,665	3,090	2,477	[266]	[7,188]

COUNTRY	IMPORTS		EXPORTS		SURPLUS	(DEFICIT)
	1986	1985	1986	1985	1986	1985
ESCAP Countries	213,382	205,286	108,911	168,375	(104,471)	(36,911)
Asean	120,637	125,344	55,367	94,320	(65,270)	(31,024)
Indonesia	36,703	22,222	1,624	2,029	(35,079)	(20,193)
Malaysia	53,878	77,492	24,799	23,883	(29,079)	(53,609)
Singapore	20,683	19,433	23,536	59,446	2,853	40,013
Thailand	3,190	6,197	5,363	8,901	2,173	2,704
Brunei	6,183	--	45	61	(6,138)	61
Other ESCAP Countries	92,745	79,942	53,544	74,055	(39,201)	(5,887)
Australia	19,278	17,699	8,927	10,659	(10,351)	(7,040)
Hong Kong	34,745	33,482	29,212	28,962	(5,533)	(4,520)
Republic of Korea(South)	27,863	24,994	11,700	17,966	(16,163)	(7,028)
New Zealand	5,155	2,235	776	9,567	(4,379)	7,332
India	1,055	898	15	1,814	(1,040)	916
Others	4,619	634	2,914	5,087	(1,735)	4,453
Socialist Countries	23,985	39,211	10,687	12,681	(13,345)	(26,530)
Peoples Rep. of China	22,320	35,045	3,957	1,832	(18,363)	(33,213)
U.S.S.R.	906	381	6,352	9,779	5,446	9,398
Romania	--	164	--	--	--	(164)
Others	759	3,621	378	1,070	(428)	(2,551)
Other Countries	80,473	53,185	61,978	53,880	(18,448)	695
Rep. of China (Taiwan)	37,980	25,081	15,874	16,880	(22,106)	(8,201)

COUNTRY	IMPORTS		EXPORTS		SURPLUS (DEFICIT)	
	1986	1985	1986	1985	1986	1985
Canada	6,556	6,462	11,015	14,203	4,59	7,741
Brazil	5,784	6,455	7	595	(5,777)	(5,860)
Sweden	3,099	3,383	1,731	2,393	(1,368)	(990)
Switzerland	13,300	5,541	2,959	1,432	(10,341)	(4,109)
Others	13,754	6,263	30,392	18,377	16,685	12,114

Source: Central Bank

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CSO: 4200/1056

FOREIGN CAPITAL RECEIPTS SHOW DECLINE

HK200551 Manila THE NEWS HERALD in English 17 May 86 p 8

[Article by Corrie Salientes]

[Text] Foreign capital poured into the national economy last month dropped by a significant 56 percent to P74.9 million from P170.2 million registered during the same period last year, a Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) report showed.

The continuous decline in foreign equity infusion into new and existing domestic business entities was apparently brought about by the "wait-and see" attitude adopted by many foreign investors.

Foreign businessmen, particularly the Americans, were reportedly hesitant to invest in the Philippines these days because of the absence of a clear-cut policy on the part of the Aquino government regarding foreign investments. Thus, despite public announcements of support to the new regime from friendly ally countries, actual foreign investment into Philippine business remained too slow.

Of the total P74.9 million foreign investments in April, P72.9 million went to five on-going local concerns while only P2 million was infused to 31 new domestic stock companies in the form of initial capital.

Three foreign multination companies with an estimated inward remittance of P1.8 million were licensed to put up regional headquarters in the country last month.

Last month's foreign capital infusion represents some 261 percent increase over March level of only P20.7 million.

Additional foreign equity contributions in five existing companies amounting to P72.9 million represent an increase of 347 percent over the P16.3 million recorded in March. However, the amount is lower by 56.3 percent than April 1985's P166.9 million.

The P2 million equity infusion into new firms last month represents a 54.5 percent decrease over its month-ago level of P4.4 million and 43.3 percent decrease from April last year's P3.3 million.

The Chinese accounted for the bulk of P0.5 million investments in new entities last month representing 25 percent of total.

While the biggest additional foriegn investment amounting as P61.8 million was infused by the Americans into Paramount Financing Corporation through the conversion of the company's liabilities to the National Bank of Detroit into equity.

The total number of foreign corporations licensed to do business in the country now stands at 1.036 while those with valid permits were only 919.

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CSO: 4200/1056

REPORT ANALYZES COJUANGCO'S SAN MIGUEL DEALS

HK161527 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 16 May 86

[Reported by Noel D. De Luna]

[Text] When 33.13 million San Miguel Corporation [SMC] shares, comprising a controlling 30 percent of outstanding capital stock, changed hands on the stock market on 1 April, SMC Acting Chairman Andres Soriano III, said he was buying them for himself and as agent for 14 corporations wich had executed a voting trust agreement in favor of his late father in 1983.

Subsequent events showed, as admitted by SMC, that the buyer was Neptunia Corp of Hong Hong.

SMC officials say Neptunia is a 100 percent subsidiary of San Miguel International in Bermuda which in turn is 100 percent owned by SMC.

As of 14 April -- 13 days after the sale -- the directors of Neptunia were Eduardo Cojuangco Jr., Danilo Ursua, Jose Concepcion, and Amado Mamuric, among others, BUSINESS DAY sources said.

Neptunia bought the SMC shares at P100 each; the Cojuangcu group had bought them two years ago at P50 apiece.

It appears now that the Cojuangco group in Neptunia is buying the SMC shares they already own.

Minority stockholders of SMC are asking: Was there really a sale in the first place?

Minority stockholders told BUSINESS DAY they would ask the Presidential Commission on Good Government (PCGG) today to sequester the 33.13 million SMC shares and ask the commission to vote on those same shares during the next stockholders' meeting of the brewery-based conglomerate.

An election of SMC directors was prevented by the Securities and Exchange Commission [SEC] last Tuesday on request of the PCGG.

The minority stockholders said sequestration would be justified because SMC committed misrepresentation in not properly identifying the buyer and the seller of the controlling shares.

They also said that, if the sale is consummated and the PCGG does not nullify it, then the 33.13 million shares should revert to SMC's treasury under Section 32 of the Revised Securities Act.

The provision of the law says "a purchase by or for the issuer or any person controlling, controlled by, or under common control with the issuer, or a purchase subject to the control of the issuer or any such person, shall be deemed to be a purchase by the issuer."

SMC's legal counsel, Teodoro Regala of Angara, Concepcion, Regala and Cruz law office, indirectly admitted this when he told SEC last Monday that "under corporate law and jurisprudence, the pruchase by a corporation of its own stock to expel a block of shares held by antagonistic interests is a legitimate corporate purpose."

Whether the block that was considered antagonistic was not antagonistic in the context of Neptunia ownership, is a matter for the courts to answer.

SMC minority stockholders also said the liabilities of common controlling interests in mutually owned companies are the same under Section 44 of the Revised Securities Act.

This section says "every person who, by or through stock ownership, agency, or otherwise, or in connection with an agreement or understanding with one or more other persons by or through stock ownership, agency or otherwise, controls any person liable under this act, shall also be liable jointly and severally with and to the same extent as such controlled persons to any person to whom such controlled person is liable, unless the controlling person proves that, despite the exercise of due negligence on his part, he has no knowledge of the existence of the facts by reason of which the liability of the controlled person is alleged exist."

Furthermore, if it can be proven that the SMC shares in question are part of treasury stock, then they have no voting rights under the Corporation Code, as long as they remain in the treasury.

Treasury shares are not entitled to dividends or to any privilege or right.

The SMC minority stockholders said that, if the sale were to be allowed, it would be tantamount to a declaration of cash dividend that effectively "freezes out minority shareholders."

They said the sale at P100 per share is like a cash dividend of P50 per share because the buyers were also the sellers.

Minority shareholders said they would ask the SEC next week to intervene and investigate the sale.

They added that they would ask the SEC and the PCGG to restrain the stockholders' meeting announced by SMC corporate secretary Raul Roco for 27 May to elect members of the board of directors.

The SEC restraining order against the election is effective for 20 days from the date SMC received the order. SMC received the order Tuesday, 13 May.

The order therefore will expire on 1 June, if Saturdays and Sundays are included, or on 9 June if weekends are excluded.

BUSINESS DAY sources said SMC would want as much as possible, to have an election of the board on 27 May because the deadline set by U.S beermaker Anheuser-Bush for the purchase of SMC's stake in San Miguel Brewery Ltd. in Hong Kong is 28 May.

SMC is selling its interests in the Hong Kong brewery to raise money for the purchase of 33.13 million shares.

Whether the purchase is legal or not, SMC minority stockholders believe that it is unfair for the Sorianos, who own only about 1.7 percent of SMC, to exercise the voting rights of 30 percent of total outstanding shares which they are acquiring with the use of corporate funds.

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CSO: 4200/1056

COCONUT FUNDS USE QUESTIONED FOR PEPSI PURCHASE

HK161529 Quezon City BUSINESS DAY in English 16 May 86 p 9

[Text] Funds from the P9.7-billion coconut levy collections may have been used to finance the purchase by a business group of the local bottling operations of Pepsi-Cola in early 1985, the Presidential Commission on Good Government [PCGG] said.

Commissioner Raul Daza made this disclosure yesterday to explain the PCGG's sequestration last 14 April of Challenge Corp, now Pepsi Cola Bottling Group of the Philippines.

"We have reason to believe that (Eduardo M) Cojuangco has shares in Pepsi-Cola through nominees," Daza said.

He declined to say whether Ernesto O. Escaler who heads the Pepsi-Cola group, is one such nominee. Escaler has denied any such links to Cojuangco.

Daza said one of the corporations in the local Pepsi-Cola group reportedly borrowed money from the Coconut Industry Investment Fund (CIFF) which was built from collections from coconut farmers during the 1970's and early 1980's.

He stressed though that this information has still to be verified by the Commission Audit which is now looking into the uses of CIIF.

Daza was apparently referring to ECI Challenge, Inc, which appears to be the key member of the local Pepsi-Cola group that bought local interests of PepsiCo, Inc for the U.S.

ECI Challenge accounts for P199.9 million of Pepsi-Cola Bottling Group's P200-million subscribed and paid-up capital.

ECI Challenge has an authorized capital of P100 million, of which P25 million has been subscribed and paid up.

Its major subscriber is Escaler (with a subscription of P24.99 million). Ernest Escaler, Augusto Barcelon, Georgina Sussan and Franklin Drilon have subscribed one share each with a par value of P1,000.

The third member of the group is PCD Philippines, Inc which transacts business under the name of Pepsi-Cola Distributors of the Philippines.

Ernest Escaler is treasurer-in-trust in all three companies, while Drilon appears to be a member of their boards of directors.

All three companies are served by the same law firm, Angara, Concepcion Cruz and Regala (ACCRA), and the same bank, United Coconut Planters Bank [UCPB] where the paid-up capital of these firms are deposited.

During Cojuangco's time, ACCRA and UCPB also served: San Miguel Corporation [SMC], whose affiliate produces Coca-Cola.

The PCGG is now looking into SMC's affairs to determine the extent of Cojuangco's control of the beer and food manufacturing giant.

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CSO: 4200/1056

PETROLEUM PRICES TO DROP, LOWER TAX STRUCTURE SET

HK200857 Manila PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER in English 18 May 86 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jessica L. Densing]

[Text] Prices of locally-refined petroleum products will decrease by an average of 75 centavos per liter this coming week.

The tax on these products will also be restructured -- with those on diesel fuel and fuel oil possibly being lowered significantly -- to induce increased industrial productivity, sources said.

This new price reduction, which is bigger by 25 centavos than the 50-centavo price reduction on the same products last March, could have been more -- at least one peso per liter on the average -- on the basis of a sharp, 25 percent drop in world spot prices of crude oil since then.

But Finance Minister Jaime Ongpin said the full price reduction on fuel products the new crude prices could have afforded could not be granted by the Aquino government because of its need for tax revenues to make up for an expected P22-billion budgetary deficit by the end of June.

At the last mandatory oil price review in March, which justified the 50-centavo-per-liter reduction on petroleum products, the crude price base was $20 per barrel.

Since then the government has been buying its crude from the world spot market at below $15 a barrel. This would have made possible a new price cut of at least one peso per liter of gasoline and diesel oil, on the average.

Ongpin said that the oil price review committee which is meeting this week will study further the implications of any reduction in the domestic price of petroleum products.

The thrust of next week's oil price review will be the tax component of the imported oil prices and how the government can offset possible loss of revenues as a result of any reduction in the oil prices, Ongpin said.

Monetary Board sources said that a re-arrangement of the 36 percent tax component in oil prices will be made.

Taxes on fuel oil, diesel and liquified petroleum gas (Lpg) will be largely cut and taxes on gasoline and other premium products will be increased, sources said.

Sources said that a reduction in fuel oil taxes is expected to perk up industrial activities. Fuel oil is used particularly for shipping, boilers and power to turn the wheels of industries.

Lower cost for diesel which is used for mass transportation, farm machineries and equipment will induce increased economic activities, sources said.

With the reduction in imported oil prices, the government stands to lose several billions of pesos in duties and ad valorem taxes. During the last oil price reduction, it lost P2.8 billion in customs duties and ad valorem taxes.

Locally-refined petroleum products comprise the single biggest revenue source of the government amounting to P16 billion annually.

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CSO: 4200/1056

BRIEFS

RADIO BROADCASTERS HARASSED--Employees of the National Media Production Center and the Ministry of Information appealed to President Corazon C. Aquino and Information Minister Teodoro Locsin Jr to put an end to the harassment being perpetrated by volunteer broadcasters who took over management of the Voice of the Philippines now called Radyo ng Bayan. In a manifesto signed by some 1,000 of them, the employees deplored the situation at the government broadcast network and the alleged inaction of its officer-in-charge, former movie actior and audio engineer Jose Maric Gonzalez. They claimed that Gonzales allowed the injustices and harassment being done by the volunteer broadcasters to the legitimate broadcasters of Radyo ng Bayan. They said the legitimate broadcasters were being gradually eased out and replaced by newcomers who are not even accredited by the Kapisanan ng mga Brodkaster sa Philipinas. The volunteer broadcasters were the same group branded by former TV-4 OIC [office in charge] Jose Marie Belez as "jukebox commentators" and "opportunists" who took control of Radyo ng Bayan through "mob rule" and a freak people power." [Text] [Manila THE NEWS HERALD in English 17 May 86 p 6]

SAN MIGUEL SHARES--On the controversial San Miguel Corporation [SMC] shares, the Presidential Commission on Good Government [PCGG] has sequestered anew the 33.1 million SMC shares. At the same time, the commission announced that businessman Jose Yao Campos has been granted immunity from all forms of suits and legal prosecutions for his help in identifying and surrendering alleged properties of former president Marcos. The commission decided last night to sequester anew the SMC shares amounting to 33 million epsos. The commission said it has conclusive evidence to show that the shares were actually owned by former Ambassador Eduardo Cojuangco. The commission's action jeopardizes the bid by Andres Soriano to regain control of the country's largest food and beverage manufacturer. [Text] [Manila Far East Broadcasting Company in English 2300 GMT 19 May 86]
/12640

CSO: 4200/1056

CONTROVERSY CONTINUES OVER WAR RESERVE STOCKPILE

Columnist Doubts U.S. Motives

Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai 22 Apr 86 p 5

[Finger Tip column by Kamhaeng Pharitanon: "The War Reserve Stockpile--Think About This Deeply"]

[Text] Everyone has the right to be concerned about matters that affect the country. People can't be prohibited from speaking and thinking. Take, for example, the matter of the Thai government allowing the United States to establish a war reserve stockpile in Thailand. This is not a minor matter that people can ignore as if they knew nothing about it.

Our great ally, the United States, has shown that it really doesn't love us very much. Otherwise, we wouldn't have to waste time protesting the Farm Act. But even so there are benefits to both sides, particularly the military. Thus, there is much support. But this does not mean that the words of those who oppose this do not carry weight.

Thailand has encountered worse things than a "war reserve stockpile." For example, the country was once filled with American soldiers. Before we realized that Thailand had become an American military base in the Indochina War, it was too late. Things are better this time, because we know what is going on ahead of time.

The government and the military, which support the establishment of a war reserve stockpile, have said that this will benefit Thailand. If we are attacked or a war breaks out, we will be able to use the weapons. Unfortunately, before we could use the weapons, we would have to pay for them.

Those who oppose this say that even though this does have certain advantages, there are even more disadvantages. Because if the United States establishes a war reserve stockpile here, it would have to station troops here to protect the stockpile. They would have to provide weapons training to us, their customer. At first, the number of American troops here would be small. But in time the number would grow into a military force. This would be the same as a military base. During the Indochina War, every American soldier stationed in Thailand, from private to general, had the status of a military advisor.

As for establishing a war reserve stockpile here, the United States probably plans to stockpile weapons in Thailand in order to be prepared for war or to threaten the enemy. If an actual war breaks out, all it has to do is send troops (advisors). That would save money. But by that time, it will be too late to say anything. And the time will probably come when we will have to expel the war reserve stockpile just like we had to expel the bases 10 years ago.

It is good to formulate plans and make preparations to defend against enemy attack. But it's even better not to fight or go to war. Instead of going to war, wouldn't it be better to talk to each other and establish friendly relations? Or would the munitions plants go bankrupt?

Editorial Urges Caution on Stockpile

Bangkok MATICHON in Thai 11 Apr 86 p 6

[Editorial: "Doubts About the War Reserve Stockpile"]

[Text] Mr Caspar Weinberger, the U.S. secretary of defense, has completed his visit to Thailand. And there is now something else to talk about besides the Farm Act, namely, the agreement to allow the United States to establish a war reserve stockpile in Thailand. Thai in general are still confused about this. Because to date, government officials have not issued a clear statement on this matter. Criticisms have been leveled by those who oppose this.

In the statements that they have made, Thai officials have expressed the idea that the U.S. war reserve stockpile will benefit Thailand, which will be able to draw weapons from the stockpile during emergencies. In particular, whenever Vietnam launches an attack, we will be able to obtain weapons immediately without having to wait 30 days. However, the weapons that are used must be purchased. Thailand would have to repay the United States.

Those who oppose this say that allowing the United States to establish a war reserve stockpile here is tantamount to asking for a war. Even though Thailand regards the establishment of the stockpile as a defensive measure, the enemy would consider this stockpile to be an important strategic target that would have to be destroyed. Thus, the war reserve stockpile can be compared to a double-edged sword.

Allowing the United States to establish a war reserve stockpile in Thailand has both advantages and disadvantages. The Thai people should be informed about the details of this. Our government officials should not keep this to themselves or make vague statements. They shouldn't cite security as a reason for not informing the people about this.

As for the progress made in establishing a war reserve stockpile, Mr Weinberger and the Thai prime minister have agreed to have officials from the two countries hold detailed negotiations on this within the next 2 months. They need to discuss such things as what types of weapons and ammunition will be stockpiled here, where in Thailand will the stockpile be located, who will pay for the upkeep of the stockpile, who will guard the stockpile and will Thailand have full access to the stockpile.

Besides this, there are legal problems on the American side. That is, according to U.S. law, the U.S. government cannot establish a war reserve stockpile in a country if there are no U.S. military bases in that country. If Thai and U.S. officials succeed in reaching an agreement on establishing a war reserve stockpile here, it means that the U.S. law will have to be changed to allow the stockpile to be established in Thailand even though there are no U.S. bases here. Or Thailand will have to allow the United States to establish a military base here. This second alternative would definitely generate great opposition here.

All the problems mentioned here are matters that Thai officials must explain to the mass media and Thai people. They must make it clear why the advantages will outweigh the disadvantages. It should be emphasized that this idea should definitely be scrapped if it would lead to the establishment of U.S. military bases in Thailand.

One other point is that the Thai House of Representatives should play a greater role in inquiring into this matter. In particular, the House Military Subcommittee should play a greater role. A stronger House of Representatives is important for developing democracy.

Editorial Supports Stockpile

Bangkok BAN MUANG in Thai 12 Apr 86 p 4

[Editorial: "The War Reserve Stockpile"]

[Text] During the recent visit to Thailand by the U.S. secretary of defense, negotiations were held on establishing a war reserve stockpile in Thailand in order to help protect the security of Southeast Asia, particularly the security of Thailand, which confronts the great power that has established military bases in Indochina. Some people have expressed opposition to establishing a war reserve stockpile, saying that this will "invite the enemy into the house." That is a possibility if the enemy acts like the wolf in the Aesop fable.

The Thai people in general realize that Thailand is now in a very critical situation and that our sovereignty is threatened by enemy military forces. The Soviet Union has established naval and air force bases in Vietnam, and Vietnam has sent forces to occupy Cambodia, which has served as a buffer country for Thailand. There are almost 200,000 troops stationed near the Thai border. As for Laos, it has been taking political and military orders from Vietnam for a long time now.

In such a situation, those who are concerned about the country's security must ask themselves whether we are prepared to fight and defend our sovereignty if we are invaded. It must be admitted that our existing personnel and weapons are greatly inferior to those of the enemy. Our expectation of obtaining support from our allies is just a hope. It would be hours before the United

States or the ASEAN countries could provide military support. Our forces are definitely strong enough to resist the enemy for that long, but do we have sufficient weapons?

The reason why we have to think about this question is that our economic and financial position is now very weak. We don't have the money to buy and stockpile sufficient weapons to resist the enemy who is confronting us. We need a war reserve stockpile that we can use while waiting for aid from our allies. This war reserve stockpile would not "invite the enemy into the house." Rather, it would serve as a guarantee for the Thai people and signal the enemy that we really are prepared. What is worrisome about the establishment of this war reserve stockpile is that there may be legal delays. This may not be done in time to meet the needs of the situation or the needs of the military.

Columnist Criticizes, Wants Conditions Met

Bangkok BAN MUANG in Thai 10 Apr 86 p 5

[Ta Mo Lo column: "The War Reserve Stockpile, a Double-Edged Sword From the United States"]

[Text] The Thai people showed a great interest in the visit to Thailand by Mr Caspar Weinberger, the U.S. secretary of defense. They were very interested in his visit because he arrived at a time when Thai are very upset with the United States over the U.S. Farm Act, which will affect the sale of Thai rice and other important agricultural products of Thailand. And it was thought that Mr Weinberger made this trip in order to discuss establishing a U.S.-Thai war reserve stockpile in Thailand.

The United States is very interested in establishing a war reserve stockpile in Thailand because of the uncertain position of its bases in the Philippines. Philippine opposition to the U.S. bases there is on the rise. Thus, the United States must look for a new location for its bases. And after the Philippines, Thailand is the most suitable location for U.S. military bases. Because it can't establish bases here, it is willing to settle for a war reserve stockpile. Because having a stockpile is the same as having half a base. If the United States needed to use the weapons, it could send troops here within 24 hours.

Thai are divided over the issue of establishing a war reserve stockpile here. Those who support this say that Thailand's security is in a precarious situation because of the threat posed by Vietnam. If there was a war reserve stockpile here, we could obtain weapons immediately whenever necessary.

Those who oppose this say that this is tantamount to "inviting the enemy into the house." They say that it would lead to an arms race in this region and increase the tension here. The Soviet Union, which backs Vietnam, would have to equip Vietnam with even heavier weapons. This would increase the chances of war.

Besides this, the United States would gain greater influence over Thailand. In particular, it would gain greater political influence over us both here and abroad. This is how the United States always treats the countries close to it. In the end, those countries experience great problems. Those who oppose this feel that the United States is bad luck and that disaster follows it wherever it goes.

Personally, I feel that this is a "double-edged sword." If the United States does establish a war reserve stockpile in Thailand and Thailand has the right to use the weapons when necessary, this will help solve one of our problems, that is, the shortage of money to purchase weapons to strengthen the military. At the same time, I feel that establishing a war reserve stockpile in Thailand will create many problems and difficulties for Thailand.

First, there would be a loss of national solidarity. It would be like a great explosion. Second, if the United States established a war reserve stockpile here, it would have to send many American officials, such as technicians, maintenance personnel and weapons instructors. They would claim that they were sending these people to guard and take care of the weapons and to train Thai soldiers to use the weapons.

I am worried that these American officials (soldiers) would abandon their half-breed children here just as happened during the Cambodian and Vietnam wars. This has been a burden on Thailand ever since, but the U.S. government has never shown any interest in this problem.

Another very important point is that allowing American officials (soldiers) to come protect the war reserve stockpile, which would be the same as having a U.S. military base in Thailand, would damage Thailand's prestige in the eyes of other countries. This would have an adverse effect on Thailand's ability to play an international political and diplomatic role, because other countries would regard us as an underling of the United States.

Besides this, more than half of the countries in the world dislike the United States. Those countries would not like Thailand either. This would affect Thailand's trade, and our problems would multiply. Because in the world today, "politics leads trade." The establishment of a U.S. war reserve stockpile in Thailand would definitely affect our trade.

However, the establishment of a joint Thai-U.S. war reserve stockpile in Thailand does have certain advantages. But the conditions would have to be right in order to prevent this from affecting the country's domestic and foreign political affairs or the country's prestige. And it must not affect Thailand's trade. The war reserve stockpile must be under the full control of the Thai military. American officials must not meddle in things. Thailand must have the right to use the weapons immediately whenever the need arises. The United States must pay all the costs in maintaining the stockpile. In particular, the United States must repeal all its protectionist measures that affect Thai goods. If the United States does not agree to these conditions, Thailand must not agree to establishing the stockpile.

Even without a U.S.-Thai war reserve stockpile in Thailand, Thailand can protect itself. Otherwise, Thailand would not have been able to survive for 1,000 years in a world filled with despots.

Columnist Sees Stockpile Becoming U.S. Base

Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 19 Apr 86 p 5

[Slap in the Face column by Pleo Singoen: "Just the State's Desire"]

[Excerpts] Three people have clearly stated that they support allowing the United States to establish a war reserve stockpile in Thailand. The three are Mr Phichai Rattakun in the name of the Democrat Party, Mr Samak Sunthonwet in the name of the Thai Citizens Party and Maj Gen Praman Adreksan in the name of the Thai Nation Party. That's fine. No one is right or wrong. In a democracy, we have to respect the "will of the majority."

The other evening, Mr Phichai appeared on television and expressed his great concern for the country's security. He said the same thing as others have said. That is, we should allow the United States to stockpile weapons here. We can pay for the weapons we use. We won't have to pay for those we don't use. He raised an old issue, saying that if we don't establish a war reserve stockpile, we won't have weapons with which to fight back when Vietnam attacks us.

But no one has discussed the details of this agreement. For example, if the United States wants to use the weapons in the stockpile, will they have the right to come and get the weapons without asking Thailand's opinion? Will the United States have the right to repair and maintain the weapons in Thailand? Take bombers operating out of Thailand, for example. In the past B-52 bombers operating out of Utaphao and Udorn bombed Vietnam. When Vietnam fired at their aircraft and set them ablaze, they landed in Thailand anywhere they wanted.

If Vietnam invades Thailand and smashes the stockpile in Thailand, the United States would lose only weapons and aircraft. But Thailand would lose much more. And the situation could grow much worse. I don't know if anyone has thought about this.

If the United States stockpiles weapons here and has the right to use these weapons whenever it wants without having to ask Thailand's opinion, that is the same as their having a military base here. That is the only interpretation I can see.

When Thanom allowed the United States to establish bases in Thailand, he claimed that "waging war outside the country is preferable to waging war inside the country." The United States probably wants to establish a war reserve stockpile in Thailand for that very reason.

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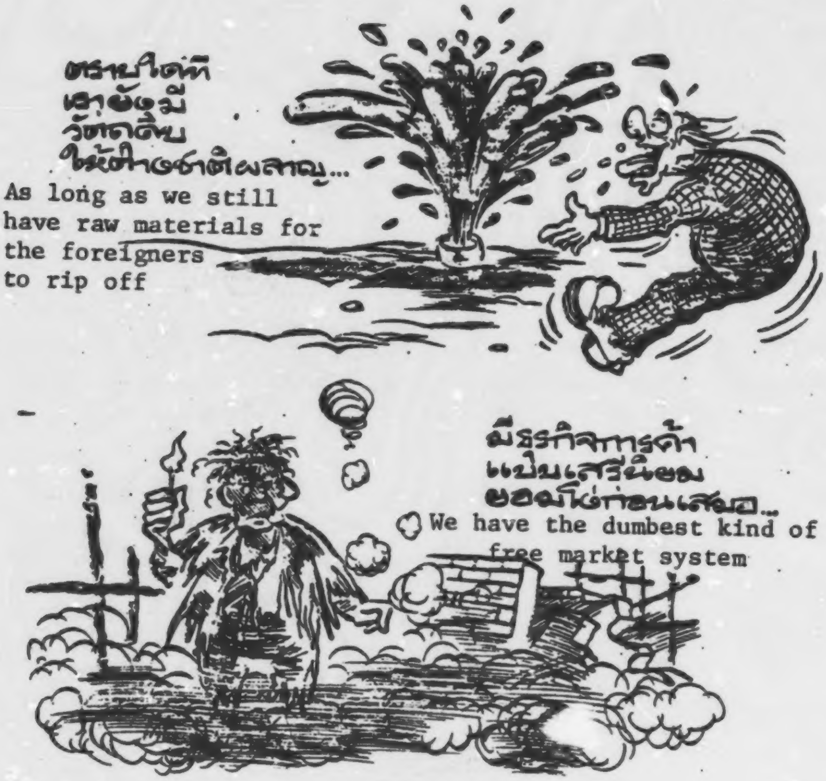
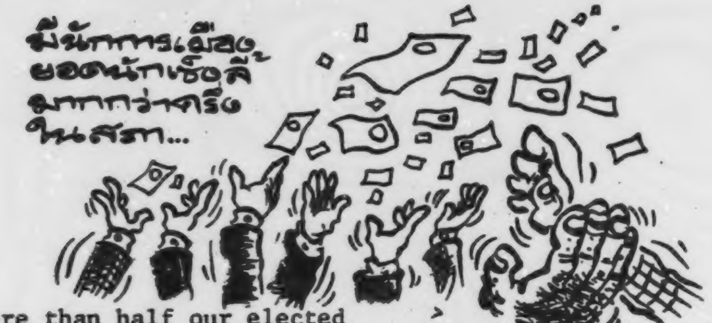
CSO: 4207/223

CARTOON LAMPOONS U.S. TIES, FREE MARKET ECONOMY

Bangkok DAO SIAM in Thai 27 Apr 86 p 6

[Text] No Sweat, Everything's Fine


ตราบใดที่
เรายังมี
วัตถุดิบ
ให้ต่างชาติผลาญ...
As long as we still have raw materials for the foreigners to rip off
มีธุรกิจการค้า
แบบเสรีนิยม
ยอมโง่ก่อนเสมอ...
We have the dumbest kind of free market system


มีนักการเมือง
ยอดนักเชือดลี
มากกว่าครึ่ง
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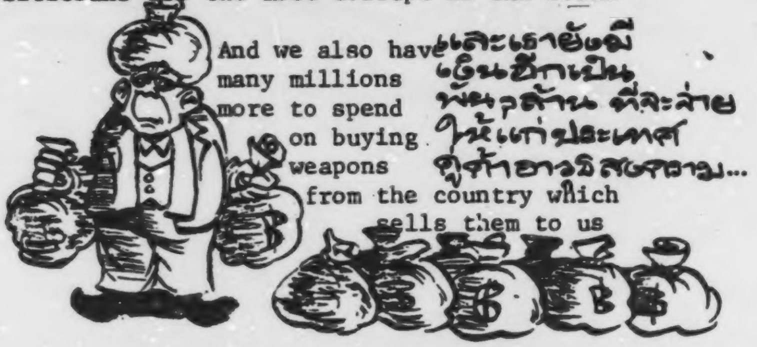
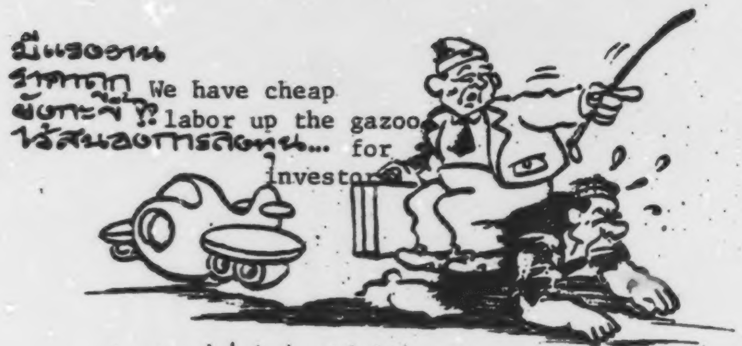
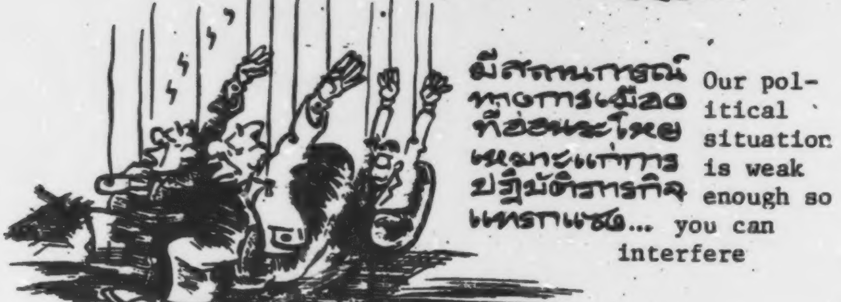
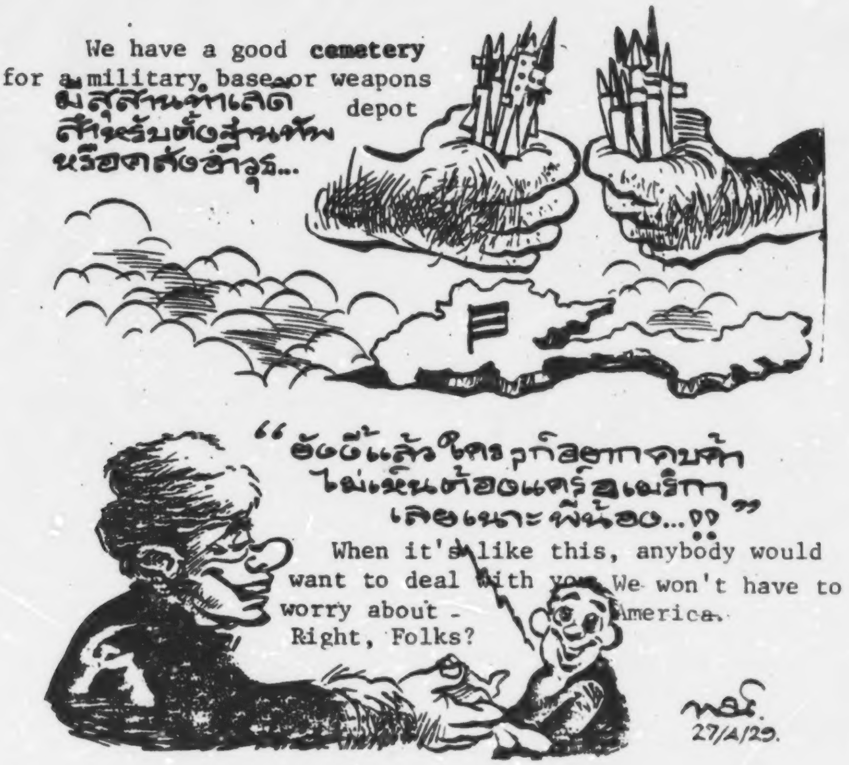
More than half our elected politicians are the most corrupt in the world


And we also have many millions more to spend on buying weapons from the country which sells them to us
และเรายังมี
เงินอีกเป็น
พันๆล้าน ที่จะจ่าย
ให้แก่ประเทศ
คู่ค้าอาวุธสงคราม...


มีแรงงาน
ราคาถูก
ยังกะขี้ !!
ไว้สนองการลงทุน...
We have cheap labor up the gazoo for investors


มีสถานการณ์
ทางการเมือง
ที่อ่อนแอโหย
เหมาะแก่การ
ปฏิบัติภารกิจ
แทรกแซง...
Our political situation is weak enough so you can interfere


We have a good **cemetery** for a military base or weapons depot
มีสุสานชั้นเลิศ สำหรับตั้งฐานทัพ หรือคลังอาวุธ...
"อย่างนี้แล้วใครๆก็อยากคบค้า ไม่เห็นต้องแคร์อเมริกา เลยเนาะพี่น้อง...??"
When it's like this, anybody would want to deal with you. We won't have to worry about America. Right, Folks?
27/4/29.

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CSO: 4207/238

REACTION TO LIBYA RAID, OPPOSITION TO STOCKPILE GOES ON

Foreign Ministry Sources on Policy Changes

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 28 Apr 86 pp 1, 12

[Unattributed report: "U.S. Relations With Thailand Expected To Change Following Condemnation of Attack on Libya"]

[Excerpts] Thailand's delegation voted to support the UN Security Council motion condemning the U.S. attack on Libya. The United States has expressed great disappointment in Thailand, which has friendly relations with the Uhited States and which has long implemented policies in line with those of the United States.

A news report from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has informed SIAM RAT about why this decision was made. It said that Thailand voted with a heavy heart because of the friendship and understanding between Thailand and the United States.

An observer of international diplomatic affairs told SIAM RAT that Thailand's decision on this matter was an important change in attitude. "This is an important matter that is of great interest to the world community, because Thailand is a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. Also, Thailand is usually viewed as following the butt of the United States on foreign policy issues."

The observer said that this action by Thailand marks a further deterioration in relations with the United States, which began when Thailand began experiencing problems stemming from U.S. trade protectionism, including the Farm Act. These issues are all related to each other.

"The United States may change its policy toward Thailand," said the observer.

Khukrit Backs Government Vote Against U.S.

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 24 Apr 86 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Khukrit Backs Condemning the United States, Says That UN Principles Are More Important"]

[Excerpts] Khukrit supports the government's decision to condemn the U.S. bombing of Libya. He said that "principles are more important than friendship." The minister of foreign affairs said that Thailand cannot support the United States on every issue. He also said that the United States is using Thailand as a scapegoat in the Farm Act issue.

This is the first time that Thailand has played a role on the world stage in opposition to the views of the United States. Together with nine other countries, Thailand voted in favor of the UN Security Council motion to condemn the U.S. attack on Libya. In response, Mr Bernard Kalb, the spokesman for the U.S. Department of State, immediately criticized Thailand's action.

MR [royal title--FBIS] Khukrit Pramot, an MP from Bangkok Metropolitan, talked with SIAM RAT about this matter. He said that today, Thailand cannot survive based on U.S. friendship alone.

"Thailand is older than the United States. Why do we have to be so worried? We want to be friends with every country. I have nothing against being friends. But why do we have to rely on the United States for everything? I don't agree with this. We cast our vote based on principle. The use of force against another country is contrary to the principles of the United Nations. We voted honestly. I don't see any harm in that.

"I think that principles are more important than friendship. We joined the United Nations in order to help prevent war, right? They used force. How could we support that?"

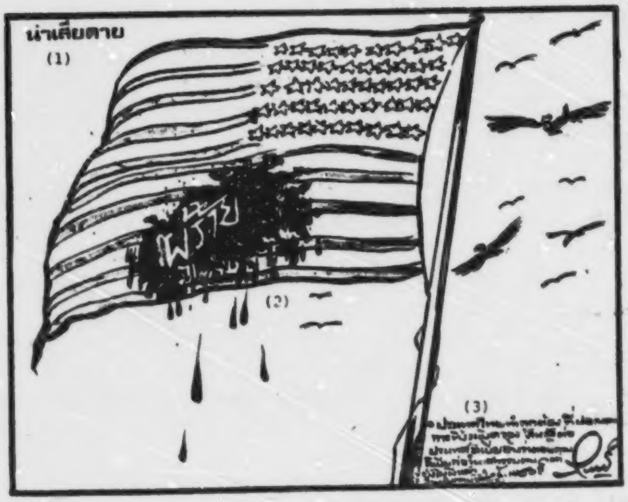
The reporter said that Libya was carrying out terrorist acts against the United States. MR Khukrit said that "even if that is true, does that mean that the United States has to carry out terrorist acts against them? In that case, the United States is guilty of engaging in terrorism, too. It bombed innocent people."

The reporter said that some people feel that it would have been better for Thailand to abstain. MR Khukrit said that abstaining is the sissy's way. "I am not a sissy. We have to have confidence. We have to have a firm standpoint. If we had abstained, that would have shown that Thailand does not have a standpoint and that it doesn't dare do anything. I think that we did the right thing."

Cartoon Scores U.S. for Raid

Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 25 Apr 86 p 3

[Cartoon]



Key: 1. Deplorable

2. Terrorist

3. Thailand did the right thing in condemning the U.S. bombing of Libya. The United States claimed that it was retaliating for Libyan terrorism. But there was no clear evidence of this.

'Old Soldier' Opposes War Stockpile

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 23 Apr 86 p 5

[Fact and Fancy column by "Old Soldier": "The War Reserve Stockpile Crisis"]

[Excerpts] The matter of establishing a (U.S.) war reserve stockpile in Thailand has been discussed a lot already. But we still don't know the truth about this. That is, we know that the United States will establish a war reserve stockpile in Thailand. What we don't know is whose idea this was. Was this the wish of the U.S. government or the Thai government?

But regardless of whose idea this was, what I really want to know is why the United States is going to establish a war reserve stockpile in Thailand. I would rather hear that they were going to establish a "goods stockpile." The establishment of a war reserve stockpile in Thailand means that the United States is going to ship weapons and war materials and stockpile them somewhere in Thailand.

Investments will be in dollars, not baht. This is probably why the Thai government favors having a U.S. war reserve stockpile in Thailand. This may help improve our economic and financial situation. Yes, U.S. dollars are preferable to other currencies. This is looking at things from the economic and financial standpoint. But let's turn our attention to the strategic aspects.

From the standpoint of strategy, one good result would be that if fighting broke out and Thailand had to get involved, if the United States had stockpiled weapons here, the Thai armed forces could use them to defend the country.

There will probably be a variety of weapons (but not nuclear weapons). It is my understanding that the U.S. weapons will be greatly superior to Thailand's existing weapons. There will probably be three cases in which Thailand can use the weapons stockpiled in Thailand. First, we could borrow them. Second, we could purchase them (using credits or purchasing them on time like other goods). Third, we could ask the United States to give us the weapons in order to defend the country (referred to as protecting our mutual interests). Thailand would not have to negotiate to purchase weapons or wait for them to be delivered. To obtain weapons to defend the country, all we would have to do is go and take weapons out of the stockpile. These are the strategic reasons. The Thai military still has to rely on weapons from abroad, particularly from the United State. The F-16 aircraft that the air force wants so badly could be stockpiled here. Thus, this would be a good thing from both the economic and strategic standpoints.

But let's look at this from other angles. Let's not look at this from just one angle. If the United States stockpiles weapons in Thailand, it will send personnel to take care of them. Those people will be soldiers. In addition to the American soldiers stationed here to look after the weapons, people will come to test use the weapons in order to find out how skilled people are in using the weapons. These people, too, will be American soldiers. There is also the matter of transportation. U.S. transport aircraft will be used. Because Thailand doesn't have such aircraft. Or we don't have enough to transport the weapons to Thailand from the United States. Also, when a weapons stockpile is located far from the home country, thee must be a good communications system. Communications equipment will have to be installed, and communications experts will have to be stationed here. Of course, these will be American soldiers. Other people (Thai) aren't skilled in using this equipment, and such equipment is top secret.

In short, the subdistrict in which that war reserve stockpile is located will probably develop into a city. As for whether it becomes a large city, that depends on the nature of the war reserve stockpile. Actually, there is nothing wrong with this. But there is something else that is suspicious and worrisome. The United States is planning to establish a war reserve stockpile in Thailand. Can anyone tell me against whom the United States is planning to wage war? If it is going to fight Libya, it doesn't need to establish a stockpile in Thailand.

If a war reserve stockpile is established in Thailand and a fight such as that between the United States and Libya breaks out, Thailand will be destroyed too. This war reserve stockpile is the bait that will result in the destruction of Thailand even though the Thai people love peace. The Thai people are being asked to sell their country for a war reserve stockpile. I am strongly opposed to this.

Columnist Faults Army Reaction

Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 28 Apr 86 p 5

[Slap in the Face column by Pleo Singoen: "Stop the War Reserve Stockpile"]

[Text] Thailand's new step, in which it stopped following the butt of the United States, has pleased the Thai people. But the military is not enjoying this, because this could interfere with the plan to establish a war reserve stockpile. The Thai administration, without consulting parliament, which is the democratic way, has asked the United States to establish a stockpile here.

The effect of Thailand's new step is clear from statements made by a U.S. State Department official. He said that the "United States has given Thailand aid worth more than $110 million this fiscal year. Thailand's vote on Monday will force the United States to review its relations with Thailand. Even though relations are good in general, we will definitely not forget this."

The United States views the establishment of a war reserve stockpile as a favor to Thailand. It now plans to review this. That is why Lt Gen Wichit Bunyawat, the director of information, Supreme Command Headquarters, spoke at length on this problem. In brief, what he said is that Supreme Command Headquarters is upset that scholars and others oppose the establishment of the war reserve stockpile. For various reasons, the establishment of this stockpile has "encountered problems," and the project may have to be "abandoned."

There are two main reasons why the project may have to be abandoned: 1. The United States has not enacted any law that would permit a war reserve stockpile to be established in a country where there are no U.S. military bases. 2. There is a problem concerning funds for building and maintaining the stockpile and for purchasing weapons. The United States wants Thailand to pay half the cost. "Half" the cost would amount to more than this year's defense budget.

This has irritated the military. I understand that and sympathize with them. The military is responsible for defending the country. The government has not implemented a clear foreign policy. It hasn't made it clear how we are to get along with our neighbors. Because of this, the military must be prepared in terms of both personnel and weapons.

The soldiers are as tired of war as Khukrit is of the parties. There is only one solution and that is to "go into the monkhood." But people aren't yet tired. People are trying to improve efficiency. This is natural. But soldiers, government officials and civilians are all bound by the "same policy." When the government doesn't clarify things, people have the right to protest when they feel something is wrong. U.S. law clearly states that a war reserve stockpile cannot be established in a country where there are no U.S. military bases. If a stockpile is established in Thailand, what that means is.... The United States will not revise its law. Instead, it will make a "base" look like a war reserve stockpile.

Another thing is that scholars can't be blamed for things. The government has never clearly stated what a constitutes a "war reserve stockpile." The government and military should not be placed above the people. They should be required to explain things. We can talk about things. We have a parliament to make decisions on national problems. We don't have to stress a policy of "waging war," do we? Isn't "working together to build peace" and living together peacefully like developing countries better? Today, we are dancing to the tune of the great powers too much. If Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam sat down and talked with each other a little, I think that we could find a peaceful solution to the problems.

11943
CSO: 4207/228

FURTHER REPORT ON KHMER ROUGE WEAPONS TRAFFICKING

Bangkok BAN MUANG in Thai 8 Apr 86 pp 1, 16

[Excerpts] Investigations have shown that weapons trafficking is rife along the border in Trat Province. It was learned that Mr Cha-on Munchara, age 36, who lives in Village 5, Chamrap Subdistrict, Muang District, Trat Province, serves as the middleman. He purchases weapons and then sells them in Bangkok. A team of police officials disguised as a group of wealthy Chinese made contact and arranged to buy a shipment of weapons at a border restaurant in Muang District at 1600 hours on 6 April 1986. But the weapons traffickers asked to meet at a restaurant at Ban Nong Bua in Wang Krachae Subdistrict, Muang District, Trat Province, at 1700 hours. At the appointed time, a blue Mazda pickup truck, license No 10-1093 Trat, arrived at the meeting place but did not stop. The officials noticed that this was unusual and concluded that the traffickers had found out about their plan. They signaled the truck to stop. But the truck, in which four men were riding, sped away. The police gave chase and caught up with the truck in a rubber plantation at Ban Nong Bua. They arrested three suspects: Mr Praphan Emot, age 34, who lives at 58 Village 1 in Noensai Subdistrict, Muang District, Trat Province; Mr Itchai Ratchakit, age 37, who lives at 3 Village 1 in Tha Prik Subdistrict, Muang District, Trat Province; and Mr Thonglo, or Yao, Thongngam, age 36, who lives at 53 Village 5 in Thatum Subdistrict, Muang District, Trat Province. The fourth man managed to escape.

The police searched the rear of the truck and found three AK rifles wrapped in plastic and a quantity of AK ammunition. They found a fourth AK rifle that was loaded and ready for use. Usually, they sold the weapons to merchants and influential people in the coastal provinces and the eastern provinces. They had made many previous trips.

The police who made the arrest told reporters that after the weapons were purchased from Khmer Rouge troops, they were stored temporarily at Mr Cha-on's house. His house is only 4 km from the Cambodian-Thai border. The Khmer Rouge soldiers slipped past the border checkpoints manned by Thai soldiers. The Khmer Rouge soldiers and Mr Cha-on were able to communicate with each other. The officials examined the ammunition and AK rifles and found that they were from Red China.

Reporters asked Police Maj Gen Bunchu Wangkanon, the commander of the Suppression Division, whether this gang of weapons traffickers was involved in politics. Police Maj Gen Bunchu said that the only thing that had been learned during the initial interrogation was that they sold the weapons to people who wanted to use them to kill others over matters involving profits. He did not know whether they were involved in political matters. Officials will continue to investigate the case.

11943
CSO: 4207/233

MILITARY, SAP SOURCES ON POLITICAL INFIGHTING

Bangkok SU ANAKHOT in Thai 29 Apr-5 May 1986 pp 17-19

[Unattributed report: "A Secret Memorandum From Big Chiu, a Plan To Prop Up Prem Until 1991"]

[Excerpts] There was a secret meeting between Gen Athit Kamlangek and ML [royal title--FBIS] Khukrit Pramot at Ban Rim Mae Ping in Chiang Mai Province. But after that, another important officer, Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, the acting RTA CINC, met in even greater secrecy with ML Khukrit Pramot. After that, Gen Prem Tinsulanon, the prime minister, visited the former leader of the Social Action Party [SAP] at his Suan Phlu residence.

Some people believe that this is a game based on an alliance between Gen Prem, ML Khukrit and Gen Chawalit. Recently, Gen Chawalit expressed great confidence that "Gen Prem will probably serve as prime minister until 1991."

The 1986 Parliament, an Operation To Topple Prem

Recently, Police Cpt Chaloem Ubamrung, the founder of the Mass Party, the leader of which is Police Lt Gen Banthoeng Kampanatsaenyakon, the assistant director-general of the Police Department and a close friend of Gen Athit Kamlangek, said that the Special Branch Police are monitoring his activities because they suspect that there is a plan to topple the government over the Bank Act, which will be submitted to parliament this session.

It isn't known whether the Special Branch Police really is monitoring the activities of Police Cpt Chaloem. But it does seem as if people will try to use the Bank Act to topple the administration. As a result of this, two important members of parliament, ML Khukrit and Mr Ukarit Mongkhonnawin, the president of parliament, have had a constant stream of visitors.

Prior to this, there were reports from the military that a senior officer submitted a proposal to ML Khukrit "on opposing the prime minister." A news source stated that the Thai Nation Party believed that ML Khukrit might agree with this proposal after talking with Gen Athit at Ban Rim Nam Ping. It also feels that the conflict between the administration and parliament over revising the constitution to have a member of the House serve as president of parliament is growing more intense.

However, a news source close to ML Khukrit said that no one knows what ML Khukrit thinks about this. But he did state that ML Khukrit has never had any confidence in the political force of the Thai Nation Party. As for the case of Gen Athit, the news source said that his parliamentary thinking is not clear enough to generate the confidence necessary to forge a political alliance with ML Khukrit.

Big Chiu, the Link Between Prem and Khukrit

The news source close to ML Khukrit said that it's true that ML Khukrit is very unhappy with Gen Prem. Ever since he resigned as leader of the SAP, ML Khukrit has sharply criticized Gen Prem on several occasions. The news source said that Gen Athit has tried to take advantage of this split between Gen Prem and ML Khukrit. Gen Athit, who is preparing to enter politics in the near future, went to see ML Khukrit at Ban Rim Nam Ping in Chiang Mai. This meeting between Gen Athit and ML Khukrit took place amidst the movement to use the Bank Act as a political fuse to shake the government and amidst the movement to "oppose the prime minister."

However, the news source said that just after the visit by Gen Athit, Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, the acting RTA CINC, paid a visit to Ban Rim Nam Ping. The meeting between ML Khukrit and Gen Chawalit indicated to Gen Prem that parliament would complete its term. Besides this, the meeting between these two led to a plan to improve relations between ML Khukrit and Gen Prem by having Gen Prem visit ML Khukrit on his birthday.

"Gen Prem came as a friend and was treated as a friend." This statement by ML Khukrit shows that Gen Chawalit's effort was a success.

A Secret Memorandum From Big Chiu, a Plan To Prop Up Prem Until 1991

A senior military news source talked about a secret report that Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut, the army chief of staff, had prepared on the future of the government and the military. Because Gen Chawalit Yongchaiyut will probably become the RTA CINC on 1 September, this report can be considered to be army policy after Gen Chawalit takes over as army leader.

At one point, the report states that the military will serve as coordinator for the political parties, including both the government parties and the opposition parties. But the military, or a military faction, must not use the political parties as a tool or allow the political parties to use the military as a tool. The military must be united. Factionalism, which leads to grade or class values, must be eliminated.

This report by Gen Chawalit also said that after the 1987 election, Gen Prem will definitely be able to form a government. Because no political party will be able to win the number of seats necessary to form a government. During the next 5 years, democratic administration will definitely be developed. The military must respect the parliamentary system.

Prem Will Brave the Parliamentary Crisis to 1991

At the recent meeting of the Joint Public-Private Committee for Solving the Economic Problems that was held at the main office of Bangkok Bank, Gen Prem had a chance to meet with senior people in banking circles, such as Mr Chatri Sophanaphanit. Gen Prem thanked the Thai Bankers Association for officially denying that there was a conflict between the commercial banks and the administration over the three acts concerning banks and financial institutions.

A news source in banking circles disclosed that this matter was discussed at a meeting of the Thai Bankers Association. A resolution was passed not to oppose these acts because the opposition parties could use this as a political tool.

11943
CSO: 4207/233

GEN HAN BACKS WIRA FOR PARTY LEADERSHIP, MONEY NO PROBLEM

Bangkok DAO SIAM in Thai 3 Apr 86 pp 1, 2

[Excerpt] On the morning of 2 April 1986, Gen Han Linanon, an MP from Bangkok and the deputy leader of the Democrat Party, answered questions on the Democrat Party holding an election for party secretary general, which is an important administrative position within the party. The election will be held on 5 April 1986. The deputy party leader said that he has discussed this matter with the leader of the party, Mr Phichai Rattakun, and several other senior party members. Whoever is elected as party secretary general should not be viewed as being a representative of a particular region. Because regardless of whether a person comes from the south, the north, the northeast or the central region, once he joins the Democrat Party, he must be considered to be part of the Democrat family. The party must have solidarity. Besides this, the person who becomes party secretary general must serve people from every region.

Gen Han offered his personal view. He said that Mr Wira Musikaphong is well suited to this position because he is a young man who is intent on serving the Democrat Party and all members of the party. This is clear from his past activities. In parliamentary elections in the various regions where the Democrat Party has fielded candidates, Mr Wira has campaigned hard for the candidates. For example, in the by-election in the northeast, where Dr Phiraphan Phalusuk ran for election in Yasothon Province, Mr Wira was one of the important forces in the campaign. He campaigned tirelessly. That shows his spirit and sincerity toward the party.

The deputy leader of the Democrat Party said that he has discussed this with the party leader and several other party members such as Mr Banyat Banthatthan and Lt Col Sanan Khachonprasat. Both these men fully support Mr Wira. Gen Han said that he is sure that Mr Wira will work hard and make every effort to benefit the party and party members from every region. Even though Mr Wira is not wealthy, he is a young man with democratic ideals. He has many friends and is widely respected. He is capable of giving much support to the party. Gen Han said that he is confident that even though the Democrat Party, which is a party of ideals and which attaches great importance to honesty, is not a wealthy party, it is rich in ideals. He said that he does not think that party members will use wealth as the criterion for electing a party secretary general. They will elect the person whom they feel will make sacrifices for the Democrat Party. That is his hope, said the deputy leader of the Democrat Party in conclusion.

11943
CSO: 4207/233

BRIEFS

EDITORIAL SUPPORTS STUDENT PROTESTS--Thai students are demonstrating against the U.S. Food Security Act of 1985, or Farm Act, so that the United States will know what effects this act will have on Thailand. This act will have very far-reaching effects on Thailand. As the deputy foreign minister said recently, these student demonstrations are an expression of the great concern felt by the Thai people. Not only will this act affect Thailand's farmers, who make up 70 percent of the population, it will also affect the country's revenues from abroad. That is, it will have a great impact on our economy in general. The students are demonstrating in order to show people the danger posed by the Farm Act. We feel that these students are patriots who are trying to preserve the interests of the country and people. These student demonstrations are reasonable. But some people view these student activities as benefiting those who oppose the United States. People should not hold such a view, which transforms good intentions into evil intentions. In particular, the Farm Act is one of the major problems confronting us. We should all unite to oppose this instead of fighting among ourselves. [Editorial] [Excerpts] [Bangkok THAI RAT in Thai 27 Mar 86 p 3] 11943

CSO: 4207/233

ILLEGAL FIRECRACKERS DISCHARGED AT EXTRAVAGANT WEDDING

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 9 Apr 86 p 4

[Article by Tuan Phuong: "The Lost Sound of Firecrackers"]

[Text] Recently, on Sunday 6 April 1986, in Subward 12 of the 3d Precinct, a case of discharging firecrackers to celebrate a wedding occurred which was the subject of concerned discussion by the people in the subward.

At noon, Nguyen Trong Xuyen (also known as Le Minh Thu), a cadre, borrowed a large hall from an agency on Vo Thi Sau Street for the wedding ceremony of his daughter, Nguyen Thi Hong Lien. There were 200 guests at the wedding and the surrounding residents witnessed a string of large firecrackers more than 5 meters long explode acridly for scores of minutes to welcome the relatives.

Bui Xuan Le, Deputy Chief of the Subward 12 Public Security Force, informed Xuyen that he had not requested permission to discharge the firecrackers from the subward.

In the everyday environment of the laboring people, there are still not a few difficulties with concern for their daily meals, and the long string of firecrackers above was displeasing to the eyes and ears of many. This is not counting the instructions of the city forbidding the production of long strings of firecrackers (production is permitted only for those with a package length of 20 centimeters). Therefore, from where did this long string of firecrackers come and what was the opinion of the agency where Xuyen worked and the agency where he borrowed the wedding hall about these lost sounds of firecrackers?

7300
CSO: 4209/504

VIETNAM-SOVIET AGREEMENT ON SERICULTURE SIGNED

Hanoi QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 21 Mar 86 p 4

[VNA News Release: "Vietnam-Soviet Union Agreement on Cooperation Vis-a-Vis Mulberry and Silkworms Implemented"]

[Text] Implementing the agreement between our country's Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Agriculture of the Soviet Union regarding the organization of a joint Vietnamese-Soviet mulberry and silkworm research station in Vietnam, recently the Soviet union sent many specialists to participate in the specific research programs.

At the Federation of Mulberry and Silkworm enterprises in Bao Loc District (Lam dong Province0, the Soviet and Vietnamese sericulture specialists have received high-quality Vietnamese and foreign mulberry varieties and are organizing crossbreeding to create new, high-quality mulberry varieties which have good disease resistance in order to rapidly propagate them throughout the nation. The Soviet specialists are researching the seasonal schedule, the mechanization of mulberry and silkworms, and the planting density, in order to find the optimal scheme, while at the same time researching the crossbreeding of Vietnamese and Soviet silkworm varieties to develop higher quality silkworm varieties.

5616
CSO: 4209/488

HO CHI MINH CITY SIMPLIFYING MUNICIPAL STRUCTURE

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 6 Apr 86 pp 1, 4

[Article by L.T.B.: "Municipal People's Committee Supervises Methods for Improving Management Mechanism of State and Economic Units; Reducing Intermediate Elements; Reducing Indirect Administrative Staff 30 Percent by End of Year; Expelling Degenerate, Deviant, Alcoholic and Unrestrained Cadres, Civil Servants from State Apparatus"]

[Text] Simplifying the staff and streamlining the management apparatus organization of the state, and reorganizing economic and professional administrative units will be a major task of the city in the near future. The Municipal People's Committee recently issued Directive 06/CT-UB with a number of methods for guiding sectors and echelons in the immediate achievement of this major task.

According to this directive, chiefs of municipal services, sections and sectors are authorized to decide the reduction of a number of auxiliary bureaus and sections along a course of reducing the intermediate elements and gradually reducing the indirect administrative staffs by about 30 percent by the end of the year; to immediately reduce the number of individuals that can be reduced and shift them to the business and production area, arrange other suitable jobs and trades or handle them in accordance with consistent policy; to reorganize business and production organizations with internal and norm accounting that are subordinate to business and production corporations and enterprises; and to formulate proposals for reorganizing business and production units engaged in independent economic accounting in accordance with the spirit of resolutions of the Party Central Committee and Municipal Party Committee. Services and sectors are permitted to dissolve unnecessary intermediate organizations, to reorganize units with a cumbersome apparatus, lack of work to do or performing ineffective work while simultaneously strongly reducing the indirect staffs of business, production and professional units, first of all those individuals who are not completing their mission or are lacking in discipline, and expelling from the state apparatus those cadres and civil servants who are negative, alcoholic, unrestrained, degenerate and deviant.

Enterprise federations, independent enterprises, corporations, etc. subordinate to services and sectors (within the scope of assigned plan norms, including plans for additional work approved by higher authority) may establish direct relations with the Planning Committee, Finance Service, Price Committee, Labor

Service, and Organization Committee of the municipal government and the bank to resolve troublesome difficulties in production and business beyond their authority such as those concerning materials, prices, capital, funds, credit, labor recruiting, handling of surplus personnel, etc. Units with major problems seriously affecting production and business may report them directly to the Vice Chairman of the Municipal People's Committee responsible for their sector.

Services, based on stipulations promulgated by the Municipal People's Committee, will promote the formulation of specific provisions on the organization and management of specialized economic and technical sectors.

The Municipal People's Committee authorizes wards, precincts and districts to dissolve, combine or reorganize the production, business and trade units that are currently subordinate to wards, precincts and districts, after exchanging and unifying opinions with the sector management service of the city. Wards, precincts and districts must make proposals for carefully calculating the economic effectiveness of production and business units with full economic accounting and newly established trade units, exchanging opinions with the sector management service and presenting them to the Municipal People's Committee for approval.

Ward, precinct and district people's committees may rearrange professional bureaus and sections along a course of rational combination, adjust apparatuses and transfer professional bureaus to form professional work teams assisting the ward, precinct and district people's committees to follow, supervise and ensure the effectiveness of state management along a sector with complete penetration from the city to the subward, village and basic level.

The administrative staff of the ward, precinct and district people's committee must not exceed 120 people. The indirect staffs of production and business units must be strongly reduced.

The directive of the Municipal People's Committee also provided guidance on a number of general stipulations concerning the recruiting and distribution of labor, permitting production, business and professional units the legal status and full economic accounting or independent budgeting in the acceptance or transfer of cadres, workers and public servants under their decentralized management and within the scope of agencies and units legally located in the city without approval by the management echelon or Municipal Administration Organization Service and Labor Service as before. The principles for accepting cadres, workers and public servants by the units noted above must be: individuals with quality, ability, good health and permanent residency in the city.

During the process of simplifying the apparatus organization, the handling of surplus cadres, workers and public servants in any unit or agency by that unit itself is primary, following the policies and systems of the state. From now on, agencies and units within the city (including those units in sectors of the central government) with labor recruiting requirements must give priority to acceptance of surplus individuals from sectors, wards, precincts and districts who have standards relatively consistent with the recruiting requirements of the unit. Agencies and units in the city are given permission for external recruiting only in cases of absolute necessity concerning individuals with high trade skills, for temporary work far from the center of the city, and for difficult and tedius work. Recruiting for official staffs of those individuals who have performed less than 2 years of contract work will be temporarily halted. Individuals who have performed contract work for more than 2 years, if the agency has a requirement, may be approved for official staffs with the condition that the present number of staff members in the agency is lower than the designated staff level. Temporarily halt registration as permanent city residents the cadres, workers and public servants, including retirees, those unable to work, and laborers transferred by the central government from provinces and other cities to work in the city, with the exception of previous city residents and a number of special cases determined by the Standing Committee of the Municipal People's Committee.

7300
CSO: 4209/502

HONEST SELF-CRITICISM, CRITICISM ADVOCATED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 6 Apr 86 pp 1, 4

[Article by Ben Nghe: "If We Don't Want To Lose Our Confidence"]

[Text] We are living in an atmosphere of preparation for party congresses at all levels. The issue of greatest concern to everyone is, what is there new in this atmosphere? What is the "taste" of this atmosphere. Are locations, organizations and echelons truly and most actively contributing toward increasing the confidence of the masses on this occasion of conducting party congresses at all levels?

The hope of everyone for revolutionary renovation in both economic and political thinking is the current problem. Many think that this problem should be foremost on the agenda. Everyone can easily agree with each other that the key to opening renovation is straightforward, specific and open self-criticism and criticism. That is also the "taste" that everyone is experiencing and wants to experience in the atmosphere of preparation for party congresses at all levels. The directive of the Secretariat and the guidance of the Municipal Party Committee on self-criticism and criticism have partially answered these desires. Nevertheless, there is still a problem on whether achievement organization is strict or not. At the present time, locations are conducting preparations for the basic level party congresses. Among the new things, differing completely from previous periods, that must be noted in a number of locations are the consideration, tossing and turning, brain work and effort expended in examining, analyzing and accurately evaluating the key problems of the local area and unit. To achieve an accurate condition, it is impossible not to use the weapons of self-criticism and criticism precisely in accordance with their significance, that is to tell the truth. They are efforts expressing the nature of the party and the conscience and responsibility of the communist, not "efforts rounding off or distorting the truth." In a number of locations, the "useless habits" have been decisively eliminated from the very collection of data for reports. Some locations have plans for organizing the respectful collection of constructive opinions from the people, considering that a vital source and important assurance for objectively and scientifically evaluating the true economic and social situation and other work aspects of the local area. The atmosphere of renovation mentioned above is in a number of locations truly beginning to create an air of enthusiasm among the masses.

None of this will come true if the signs above as well as the following points are not acknowledged: Not a few locations still wish to maintain the old procedures or if change occurs, "only a little just to be counted," and do not want to conduct honest and specific self-criticism and criticism for fear of "losing emulation points," not protecting their orders of commendation and "advanced and powerful" titles, offending higher party committee echelons, sectors and sections, and especially fear of "exposing" stories which have long been related as achievements! Some locations with a condition of liking form more than substance, "mobilize" "writers" to "cut and pare, mold, summarize and divide the strong and weak points in an orderly fashion" to create a report inviting neither reward nor punishment and neither offending nor exciting anyone. Some places plan on only conducting self-criticism on those things they haven't done while ignoring or passing over their mistakes and shortcomings and only mentioning those mistakes that have been too sticky, not being "stupid enough to uncover" those things about which no one knows! Some places also "start rumors" that they are not receiving members of the press on this occasion and if necessary require a letter of introduction of higher authority!

We have had an opportunity to contact and talk with many people of all circles. The overall impression and feeling is that they are not truly very confident. Not a few have said, "Criticizing upper echelons, lower echelons and others is all right but to criticize oneself is unsure!" Clearly, "if we don't want to ourselves lose the confidence of the people, we must carry out straightforward self-criticism and criticism and tell the truth." Any location or individual avoiding self-criticism and criticism or doing so in a negligent manner for form's sake only certainly has no place to stand in the confidence of the people.

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SUBWARDS PREPARE FOR SELF-CRITICISM, CRITICISM DRIVE

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 6 Apr 86 pp 1, 4

[Article by the Political Correspondent Group: "Clarifiying Preparation for Self-Criticism, Criticism in a Number of Party Basic Organizations; Signs of Renewal and Straightforwardness; Summarization, Review Reporting in Many Locations Still Generalized, Nonspecific; Things Requiring Reexamination in Personnel Preparation, Cadre Distribution Prior to Self-Criticism, Criticism Drive"]

[Text] We have visited many subwards in the city seeking understanding on the preparations by basic level party committee echelons for the self-criticism and criticism drive prior to conducting basic level party congresses. To this time, all ward and precinct party committees have provided guidance on congress preparations to basic party units with special emphasis on self-criticism and criticism among the cadres, party members and organizations in order for the people to contribute their opinions on party construction. After the directive of the Secretariat on this matter was issued and through the guidance and ideas of the municipal leadership, nearly all the cadres, party members and people of our city want the party committee echelons to conduct truly strict and honest self-criticism and criticism with a courageous look at the truth. Everyone thinks this is the factor determining the success of the party congresses at all levels this time.

Signs of Straightforwardness

In all the subwards we visited, the party committee echelons are urgently preparing to conduct self-criticism and criticism. Nguyen Thi Dung, Secretary of the Subward 10 Party Chapter in the 11th Precinct, said, "We have finished writing the party chapter report but it has now been 'bankrupted.' After Phan Minh Tanh, Deputy Secretary of the Municipal Party Committee, came to work with us on the theme of the congress, especially the theme of self-criticism and criticism, it's as if we have 'suddenly awakened.' A generalized report flattening out the strong points and weaknesses such as ours cannot answer the requirements of this self-criticism and criticism drive. Our subward has been chosen as a basic level congress pilot project. As you know, the 'point' this time is not like previous times. Our standards are limited, the subward is very busy and every job is urgent. However, our chapter committee has discussed and is determined to hold truly good self-criticism and criticism."

From Subward 10, we went to the 11th Precinct public security office. The precinct public security party committee has conducted an internal review with the participation of secretaries from 13 subordinate chapters. The foremost weaknesses self-criticized by the party committee here were that the political and ideological education of the party member is still weak, and that inspection of decision achievement is still poor. However, a more specific weakness presented was that handling of violations by party members is still not resolute with many previous cases still treated with leniency such as the cases of Tran Xuan Tich, Kieu Kim To, Nguyen Manh Toan, etc.

In the subwards we visited, many places have completed their party organization term summarization reports but there are also many that have just assigned a writer.

Of course, the problem is not whether they have or have not completed writing the report or review. In Subward 17 of the 3d Precinct, Hoang Manh Tien, Subward Party Committee Secretary, indicated that although the report and review had not yet been written, the party committee had conducted a strict classification of party members and evaluated four as substandard (one degenerate party member, one with improper relations, and two who were street public security personnel lacking responsibility and maintaining relationships with unsavory elements). The Party Secretary of Subward 2 in the 4th Precinct stated that the party chapter last year was not recognized as pure and strong because of many shortcomings, most prominent of which were the apprehension of a member of the chapter committee for operating a large tontine, and the loss of the subward public security seal. The major shortcomings here were due to internal efforts that were not bold or straightforward but with too much mutual consideration; therefore, not assisting those with shortcomings to correct them from the very beginning, and leading to more serious mistakes. Tran Cat Dien, Party Chapter Secretary of Subward 21 in Binh Thanh Ward, told us that two party members with disciplinary infractions, one a member of the chapter committee, would be severely reviewed by the party chapter this time and resolutely dealt with in a communist spirit without slovenliness or leniency to appease each other. In Subward 13 of the 5th Precinct, before writing its summarization report and self-review, the chapter committee suggested that the retired cadres and party members contribute their honest opinions to the party chapter and the People's Committee on the strong and weak points of the committee echelon, the tasks to be performed and rearranged by the subward, and the objectives and courses of the subward during the 2 years of 1986 and 1987. We read five of the suggestions made by retired cadres to the committee echelon and Subward 13 Party Committee. This is a praiseworthy action and also one showing that although retired, they are still enthusiastically concerned about the work of the party.

Still Generalized Reports

However, preparations by committee echelons in many subwards are still not strict and have still not answered the requirements of this self-criticism and criticism drive.

First of all, it may be stated that nearly all the summarization and review reports that we read were still extremely generalized with no specific "address." The report of the Subward 5 Party Chapter Secretary in Phu Nhuan Ward did not clearly distinguish shortcomings in the leadership of the committe echelon or weaknesses in achievement organization of the administration. Even criticism of existing problems in the adminstration failed to point out the names of any party members assigned to work there who were not fulfilling their mission. In Subward 2 of the 4th Precinct, although the Party Chapter Secretary said he would "state specifically" and truly for the people and cadres to clearly see the "shortcomings in the leadership of the party," when the report was presented, he did not mention reasons for the shortcomings or the specific individual responsibilities. Although the party chapter reports of Subward 12 in the 5th Precinct and Subward 1 in Go Vap Ward presented many shortcomings, they were still of a generalized form, such as "a chapter committee member still depending on the collective, the ability of a chapter committee member not promptly following the requirements demanded by the revolution, a lack of resolve in suggesting that upper echelons have not yet acted precisely in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, a lack of resolve in the assignment of party members of substandard ability, in dealing with party members who commit violations, etc," but still did not clearly point out who lacked ability, who was dependent upon the collective, and who suggested what. The Subward 14 Chapter Committee of the 8th Precinct has nearly completed its report with a fairly large part devoted to strong points while, for weaknesses, only mentioning that the committee echelon and chapter committee have not been sensitive toward assisting the basic production units in overcoming difficulties, that concern for the lives of the people was still poor, etc. The report of the Subward 15 Party Chapter in the 4th Precinct mentioned a number of fairly specific weak points but stopped at the overall responsibility of the chapter committee without touching on the responsibility of each individual, and failed also to mention specific methods for overcoming the problems.

The continued smoothing out of weak and strong points and presentation of generalized shortcomings by reports has always been and is still incompatible with the spirit of the Directive of the Secretariat and the guidance of the Municipal Party Committee. In conjunction with the general weaknesses and shortcomings of the party chapters, basic party organizations, party committee echelons and people's committees, it is necessary to mention the specific weak points of each party member and to point out methods of correction, only in this manner acquiring a foundation for the cadres, party members and people to contribute toward building the party organization, each committee echelon and each party member.

Things Needing Reexamination in Personnel Preparation and Cadre Distribution Prior to the Self-Criticism and Criticism Drive

Also through our search for understanding in the subwards, we learned that nearly all of them are presently indicating that committee echelon personnel preparations for the coming term have been completed. This is also an old method. This time, the masses must not only contribute their opinions on the theme of the party chapter, chapter committee and people's committee reports but must also give their opinions to the party on cadre selection. In the subward, the people will make suggestions to the party chapter on who should be selected with sufficient qualities and ability for election to the committee echelon. Therefore, we think it is possible to make personnel "predictions" but should not consider them as choices of a decisive nature. While making choices for nomination and election to the committee echelon, extreme emphasis must be given to the opinions of the masses in order to elect those individuals with sufficient qualities and abilities to fulfill the revolutionary mission of the party. If this is not done, our organization of the masses to contribute their opinions on personnel matters is in form only.

Another problem to be mentioned is that a number of precincts such as the 3d and the 5th are presently transferring many key cadres in the subwards to the precinct or to other subwards. This distribution probably orginates from the requirement for strengthening party basic organizations, cadre promotion, etc. However, it also creates obstacles for conducting self-criticism and criticism and for the constructive opinions of the people about cadres. Party member and public opinion in the locations above does not agree with such a method of cadre distribution and requests that if a decision for transfer is to benefit the party that a clarification be made of the qualities and qualifications of the transferred cadres, meaning not simply an internal review for implementing the transfer procedures as has long been done but an arrangement for those about to be transferred to receive the constructive opinions of cadres outside the party and of the people. Only in this manner can the qualities of transferred cadres be made clear to the masses both in the location where they have long worked and the place where they are about to be transferred. Concerning elements of the masses participating in and contributing their opinions to the cadres and chapter committee, nearly all the subwards have indicated they will conduct reviews before the cadres and civil servants of the subward and before ward operations committees and neighborhood teams. In our opinion and that of a majority of the people, elements involved in review and contributing opinions must be expanded to include representatives or members of mass organizations, of the laboring people, and of all circles and classes.

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CRITICISM OF HIGH-LEVEL OFFICIALS DIFFICULT

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 6 Apr 86 p 1

['Our Contribution to the Party Congress' column by Nguyen Tran Long An: "Organizing Self-Criticism and Criticism From Top to Bottom"]

[Text] Extracts of reports from the recent Moscow Municipal Party Congress and the 27th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party published in newspapers circulated within the city were breaths of fresh, gentle and pleasant air to everyone living legitimately with respect for what is right and fair in our city. Conversely, those making an illegimate living--no matter what their social standing--surely saw them as suffocating and unbearable.

What these fresh and pleasant breaths of air will suspend and how long they will accumulate within the thoughts of those making a legitimate living is another matter because the ultimate problem is the extent the analysis and solution of our problems has reached.

The directive of the Secretariat of our Party Central Committee and recently, the expressions of guidance of a number of our municipal leaders on the problem of self-criticism and criticism to build the party on the occasion of the coming all-level party congress have been read and heard by a majority of the people in the city. Truthfully speaking however, it is still something that is too difficult! This is because, as citizens in a ward, whom will we constructively criticize? Through the stories of the Chairman of the People's Committee or the Secretary of the Subward Party Chapter, we only know general things and what is right and wrong but not how to criticize. If one has the misfortune to criticize what is wrong, will he be seen as "destructive" and "assisting others in oppressive acts" or not? What does one say about a Precinct Chairman and Precinct Party Committee Secretary?

Therefore, we will first of all criticize the neighborhood team leader and the member of the area public security force. After that, if there are no problems, we will criticize the ward chief and the director of the subward marketing cooperative. However, in those cases where the area public security man is a "right hand" of the Subward Public Security Chief, the Subward Public Security Chief is the "right hand" of the Subward Secretary, and the Subward Secretary is the "right hand" of the Precinct Chairman or Party Committee Secretary, etc., these personages will remain "majestic" for no citizen will dare to truly criticize them. In other words, as long as wayward cadres and party members still have their extremely firm and "fresh" "open umbrellas," it is difficult to speak of criticism in its true meaning.

In the Soviet Union, when the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party elected M. S. Gorbachev as the General Secretary, he followed the instruction of Lenin, "A communist must speak the truth." At the Plenary Conference of the Party Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party in April 1985, Comrade Gorbachev followed that lesson. And, when the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party spoke the truth, many high-level party members and cadres were dismissed, retired, purged from the party and even brought to trial. From the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Communist Party Central Committees in 15 republics, almost the same thing occurred. Therefore, when the Soviet Communist Party was preparing for the recent 27th Congress, the people in Ho Chi Minh City read the extracts of reports from the Moscow Municipal Party Committee and everyone was enthusiastic.

In my opinion, only by doing as the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party will we develop the true spirit of criticism and self-criticism in order to build the party and to build society. If we don't, criticism of the area public security member has already been too difficult without mentioning the criticism of anyone higher.

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BASIC UNITS FEAR SELF-CRITICISM, CRITICISM DRIVE

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 8 Apr 86 p 1

[Article by Chau Ai: "Things We Should Not Fear and Things We Should Undo"]

[Text] Through investigation of the actual situation in various locations, we have noticed that a number of units have for a long time and also recently been awarded orders of commendation or titles such as "Advanced Unit," "Strong and Stable Unit," "Determined-To-Win Unit," etc. There have also been shortcuts in self-criticism and criticism. A number of units have been awarded commendations by the Party Central Committee, city, precinct, or district in the same manner. Drawing near with our ears open for the causes, we learned that the units above reason, "As advanced, strong and stable units with orders of commendation, our strengths are like a protective covering, while our weaknesses, if there are any, are insignificant and not worth presenting for self-criticism and criticism." These units also "fear self-criticism and criticism will result in the loss of their titles with nothing else remaining as advanced models and strong and stable units." Some are excessively cautious, "Our reputation has long been good but now with self-criticism of our shortcomings and weaknesses, will we retain our orders of commendation and titles?" While the units above have such "great concerns," the opinion of a majority of the masses is that "the better the unit is as an advanced model, the more it must set a good example in self-criticism and criticism."

We think that this opinion is correct. There is nothing that can be called totally perfect. Along with their strengths, good or advanced units still have existing problems, weaknesses and shortcomings. There is nothing strange about that (the only thing strange is to light a torch and look but find none). Due to conditions that are not accurate or meticulous (if you don't want to call them bureaucratic), there some cases called advanced that actually still have problems and are undeserving. There are also units that once were good and advanced but later discovered adverse matters. Therefore, advanced and example units with orders and commendations, etc. must all set an example in truly good self-criticism and criticism in order to promptly develop their strong points and overcome their weaknesses so as to further advance. Even those units with extremely basic and extremely great strengths and extremely few shortcomings must also uphold the spirit of self-criticism and criticism. Only in that way can they be correctly considered as revolutionary and communist for the people and that nation, can they solidify and strengthen their prestige and can they protect their orders of commendation and glorious advanced titles. There is no award finer than the confidence of the people and the people usually trust in a location where the units and individuals are honest and straightforward and do not conceal their shortcomings. Any unit that previously was advanced but now has declined or partially "has a name but no substance" should conduct self-criticism and criticism all the more thoroughly with the purpose of restoring prestige and should not cover things up for fear of being "exposed." Only through straightforward self-criticism can it earn the love of the people and the trust of the party.

In Keeping with the Preferences of Higher Echelons?

There are many causes leading to a fear of straightforward and specific self-criticism and criticism, incuding the "fear of not clearly understanding what is in the heart of upper echelons: what are (the opinions of the ward, district and city) and do they prefer whitewashing or can they stand the truth? If the whitewashing is preferred, the rosy aspects must be stretched, and only if they can stand the truth can one dare to speak truthfully." There are also places afraid that upper echelon sections and sectors will cause trouble and they will lost emulation points! (After a thorough investigation of this impediment, a number of locations confided to us that the basic level is a basin and the upper echelon sections and sectors are a rainspout; good or bad, the basic level receives it. If there are weaknesses at the primary level, it also means the sector's secret is revealed and when the sector loses achievement points, the basic level also loses emulation points!

We think that upper echelons, specifically the Municipal Party Committee, have already been clear and decisive in not preferring or accepting whitewashing (the recent Municipal Party Conference discussed, decided and Nguyen Van Linh concluded that, "State all strengths but do so briefly and set aside much of the time for reviewing and analyzing weaknesses and shortcomings and presenting methods of overcoming them." The problem is that upper echelons in the city must truly and completely understand and thoroughly implement this supervision ideology. They must undo every impediment and shortcut for the basic level and demand that the basic level uphold the spirit of straightforward and specific self-criticism and criticism. Widespread public opinion suggests that the Municipal Party Committee uphold one of the greatest emulation standards for all locations this year, that of straight and specific self-criticism and criticism, with any location skimming over the procedures for form's sake losing emulation points and also undergoing criticism.

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READER CRITICIZES CADRE SELF-INTERESTS

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 9 Apr 86 p 1

['Our Contribution to the Party Congress' column by Xuan Quang, Subward 15, 11th Precinct: "Complacency, Self-Satisfaction, Conceit and Self-Esteem Must Be Overcome"]

[Text] It must be acknowledged that at the present time, our party and state are confronted with great difficulties: production is not keeping pace with social requirements; and producers lack enthusiasm and are even concerned because they see their household budgets becoming increasingly deficient; and from that springs many unwholesome occurrences such as: listless work, lax or extremely lax discipline, and products of poor quality, creating great waste and eroding mutual confidence in society.

The material living standards of the troops are too low. Better solution of this problem is extremely worthy of attention.

What are the reasons? Besides the objective reasons I don't wish to recall here, there are the subjective reasons which in my opinion are as follows:

a. The ideology of complacency and self-satisfaction in a portion of the party: which sprung up after the great victory of the resistance against America war for national salvation. Our party has still not conducted strict criticism and self-criticism nor has it resolutely overcome this phenomenon.

It is expressed in the fact that our party and state have still not fully recognized their weaknesses before the new national revolution in production and in the economy and technology, in order from that to formulate strong methods of creating new means of renovation aimed at halting the old and obsolete procedures. For example, the party has not yet properly or promptly revamped the leadership apparatuses at all levels for consistency with the new requirements. When cadres who deserve disciplining are instead forgiven, they are the very ones who, to ensure their own safety, cause problems for those who are good. Those who perform effectively are considered an immediate thorn that must be extracted.

Instead of boldly making the leadership ranks younger, the party continues to operate in an extremely slow fashion. I believe that our nation has an abundance of young cadres with ability and fervor but they have not yet received the proper level of confidence and entrusted responsibility.

Complacency and self-satisfaction are overcome not only by realization. There is a clear need for many other synchronized methods and policies. Finally, it must be by a new mechanism.

b. Conceit, self-esteem and hedonism exist in many cadres and party members whom the party has not yet strictly educated. After 30 April 1975, this ideology became fairly serious. It is expressed in the misappropriation of state property for private use with erroneous reasons: "I have suffered a great deal and now will enjoy a little," from housing and everyday articles to even money from public funds. Because the party has been imprompt in strict education, cadres have been adversely affected and altered with gradual movement toward corruption, bribery, bureaucratism, arrogance and demanding attendance from others.

In my opinion, the party must resolutely clean up this issue. If not, it cannot be severe with lower echelons.

Of course, each level of cadres has state allowances. It is suggested that the press publish the allowances stipulated by the state for each type of cadre so the people may supervise them, and also to give proper cadres peace of mind in enjoyment of their own allowances. Anyone who exceeds these allowances must be dealt with in a just and impartial manner without excessive delay.

The Political Bureau is the brain of the Party Central Committee and the Party Central Committee is the brain of the entire party and nation. Therefore, every renovation must not only originate from the lower echelons but also from the Political Bureau and the Party Central Committee to be truly effective.

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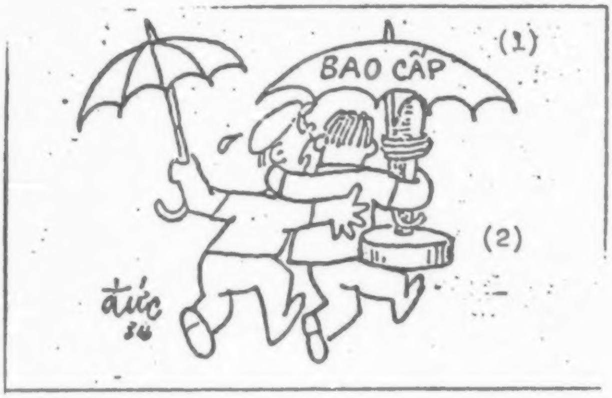
PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT VIETNAM

DEPENDENCE OF BUREAUCRATS ON CENTRALISM, SUBSIDIES VIEWED

Cartoon Comment

Hanoi VAN HOA NGHE THUAT in Vietnamese Mar 86 p 16

[Text]



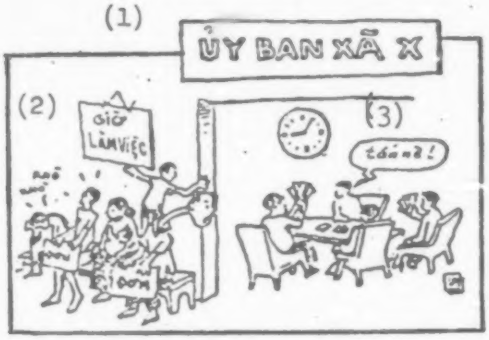
Key:

1. **Bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies [symbolized by the umbrella]**
2. **The rubberstamp is symbolic of the bureaucrat and is** symbolically bound **to the umbrella**

Uncaring Bureaucrats Scored

Hanoi VAN HOA NGHE THUAT in Vietnamese Mar 86 p 16

[Text]


(1)
ỦY BAN XÃ X
(2)
GIỜ LÀM VIỆC
ĐƠN
(3)
tới anh!

Key:

1. Village people's committee
2. Open for business
3. Go ahead, it's your play

/9274
CSO: 4209/548

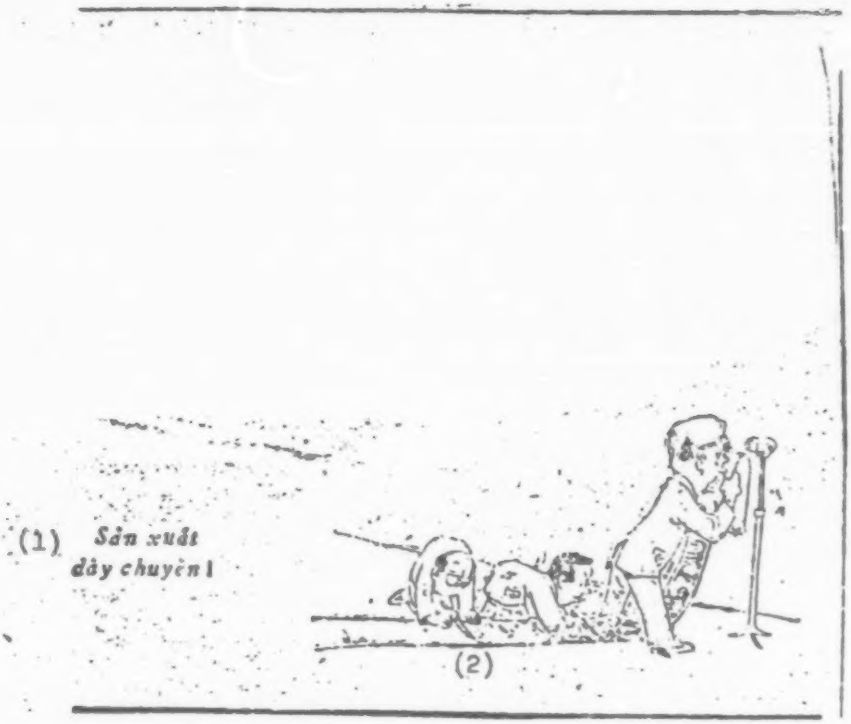
PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

VIETNAM

PRODUCTION PLANNING LAMPOONED

Hanoi DAI DOAN KET in Vietnamese 23 Apr 86 p 15

[Text]



Key:

1. Producing the line [on production]

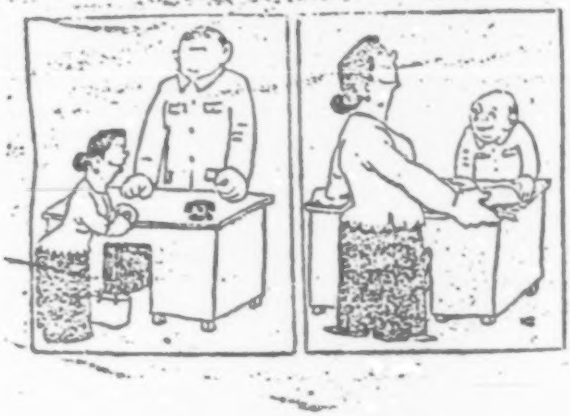
2. Underlings busily improvising production policy

/9274
CSO: 4209/548

REVERSAL IN STATUS FROM BRIBERY ILLUSTRATED

Hanoi DAI DOAN KET in Vietnamese 23 Apr 86 p 15

[Text]



Trước và... sau khi nhận hối lộ. (1)

Tranh : NGUYỄN NGHIÊM

Key:

1. Before...and after you take a bribe

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CSO: 4209/548

COMMODITY SHORTAGES AFFECT HANOI STATE STORES

Hanoi DOC LAP in Vietnamese 2 Apr 86 p 3

[Article by Tran Quan: "Hanoi Trade and Its Burning Problems"]

[Text] Visitors to Hanoi in recent months have witnessed a change in the trade sector. State-run stores have been built or upgraded, attractive and spacious. The commercial network in wards, districts, subwards, and villages, including installations engaged in joint business with private merchants, has been expanded. Restaurants have been remodeled, with new appearances, new equipment, and new catering methods. Services have multiplied.

According to reports by the trade, restaurants, and catering sectors, last year their units exceeded norms in terms of business income. Implementing the resolution of the Eighth Plenum of the CPV Central Committee, corporations and stores have fostered dynamism and creativeness, removing systemic snags to expand their operations.

These are entirely true facts, illustrating a new turn in the city's mindful guidance and the vigorous effort of cadres, workers, and civil servants of the Hanoi distribution and circulation sector. However, a closer look at the picture readily shows problems that need be solved to meet the urban population's demands.

Commodity Shortages and "Slippery Prices"

To assess the economic efficiency of the trade, restaurant, and catering sectors, one cannot solely rely on business income, especially in light of "slippery prices" since the end of last year. That a corporation or store has increased its business revenue by 50 percent over last year does not necessarily mean it has sold a corresponding amount of goods.

Commodity shortage continues to be a burning issue with the commercial sector. Food stores are directly influenced by seasonal fluctuations in animal husbandry and purchasing prices. Artistic handicraft stores lack diversification and are short on goods, including those produced domestically, or even locally for daily use. General merchandise counters, for a while graced by shipments from the south, have become empty once again. The city's biggest department store on Hang Bai Street carries only about 5,000 items which, however, are constantly in short supply. Occasionally, for 15 days in a row, its bicycle spare parts counter displayed just a few articles, either the outer shell of a rear signal light, or a pair of handlebar grips. Newly opened "centers," including the electrical machinery-bicycle shop in the Hoa Binh market and the Cua Nam bicycle shop, are so critically short of merchandise that they are always under the thumbs of private merchants.

Commodity shortages and "slippery prices" have led to an abnormal phenomenon: in times of scarcity, tranquillity sets in; by contrast, abundance causes confusion with people competing with each other to buy up goods for resale in the provinces. Relatively valuable articles are usually sold out, regardless of prices, creating false shortages, and the tendency to hastily stock up on merchandise instead of keeping cash, has generated a chain of reaction at the expense of the recently built price plateau. State commerce is out on a limb--indeed, shortages are bad, but when prime goods are in stock it dares not put them on sale for fear of underpricing, distributing to wrong people, and disrupting the marketplace.

The above difficulty can be basically solved only if production is poised to develop at a fast pace. Purchasing goods in the south is just a temporary measure, not a substitute for the effort to accelerate local production of both agricultural food products and handicraft articles. Hanoi is bound not only to produce for its own consumption, but also to make large quantities of handicraft goods for exchange with the northern provinces for other commodities to expand economic association and mutual assistance in developing production to serve the people's livelihood.

It falls to production sectors to speed up production. However, to fulfill its role and serve its own interest--as well as consumer interest--state commerce should act with vigor and take the lead in caring for and stimulating production, turning out diversified and numerous high-quality, esthetic, and reasonably priced goods.

Few Goods, Many Stores

Although total commodity production has not yet met consumer needs, the number of commercial units in Hanoi has increased rather rapidly.

Unlike its counterpart in Ho Chi Minh City, before 1975 the state commercial network in Hanoi boasted an adequate number of corporations specializing in various kinds of commodities, including those produced under contract. To acquire out-of-plan goods, state trade has set up the General Business Corp. But in fact, the list of items it carries is not different from that of former corporations still in operation. The only difference lies in exploitation methods, quality, prices, and a total lack of warranty for the quality of these out-of-plan commodities. In the past several years, the corporation in charge of purchasing handicrafts has occupied itself with buying goods from the south worth billions of dong, including fake and low-quality commodities. Then a series of Level-III corporations were set up to manage restaurants, catering activities, foods, vegetables, general business, and services. The

Service Corp. also opened restaurants and stores to sell foreign-made clothing and forestry products, etc., dealing in all kinds of merchandise provided that high profit was assured. Some corporations were directly linked to production places, paying neither circulation costs nor taxes, raking in a fortune in the process. This kind of "dynamic" business is aimed only at scattering rather than concentrating products on specialized units, thus enlarging the commercial administrative apparatus, reducing social labor productivity and the efficiency of common management, and making it difficult to guide prices.

Likewise, local management is not homogeneous. In Dong Da Ward, the marketing cooperative is managed by the commercial bureau while Hoan Kiem Ward has an exclusive management committee for its marketing cooperative and a separate Commercial Business Corp.

In the wake of the resolution of the Eighth Plenum of the CPV Central Committee, pretending to "renovate business procedures," "keep in touch with the marketplace," and "develop services," some sectors having nothing to do with commerce, such as education, science and technology, also opened stores, in which the most valuable merchandise was winter clothing!

With such commercial installations and such salespeople lacking ideological indoctrination, political education, and vocational training, how can we improve the quality of service and ensure a civilized approach to trade?

A question may be raised: "If the new system is put to work to foster the capabilities of specialized business corporations and the existing network, strengthen commodity control and reduce nonessential commercial outlets, will society and management be better off?"

New Structure Is Needed

Socialist trade has more forces than needed to meet the urban population's demands. But to enable these forces to make the most of their capabilities, dominate the marketplace, and actively contribute to stabilizing prices, it is now urgent to have a new structure for commercial activities.

To expand its operations, socialist trade must enjoy financial and economic autonomy and be able to borrow enough capital, select places where goods can be bought and ordered in keeping with consumer tastes, and open service outlets wherever it deems it necessary and suitable to its potential. It is advisable to drop business units marked by unclear functions and difficult growth in order to channel commodity sources into existing ad hoc business corporations. Services should be expanded, focusing on everyday needs and strongly developing the home-visit concept. Subward marketing cooperatives have come up with more consistent activities; but in general they still lack close contact with the broad masses' daily life. In many subwards, people know nothing about their own marketing cooperatives, despite the fact that the latter continue to report to superior echelons that their business base has expanded and that they are in the black. Thus, if state-run corporations speed up their business operations and seize control of agricultural products, foodstuffs, and handicraft goods, is it appropriate for subward marketing cooperatives to go back to their initial pursuits and offer to sell some goods for state commerce on commission?

It is imperative to put together a new set of prices; but exorbitant price hikes, without paying attention to commodity values, should be avoided. While generating more cash revenue for the state, these increases will do much more harm--breaking up the new price plateau, creating new price differentials between agricultural food products and handicraft goods, distributing merchandise to nonconsumers, placing valuable and prime goods into the hands of well-heeled people, and pushing workers, civil servants, and salaried people gradually away from the shopping prerogatives to which they are otherwise entitled. Consequently, adequate distribution formulas and prices are now extremely necessary to ensure decent living standards for cadres, workers, and civil servants.

Market management work is indispensable as well; however, it is not a basic measure designed to stabilize market prices; and as a result, there is a need for homogeneous, adequate, and well-defined guidance, and for an effort to avoid arbitrary and impulsive phenomena apt to create a psychology of instability, involuntarily hamper the movement of city-bound goods, and cause prices to shoot up. Whether socialist trade can increase its grip on the marketplace depends on its ability to control social goods.

In light of the resolution of the Eighth Plenum of the CPV Central Committee fighting the system of state subsidies and bureaucratic centralism and resolutely switching to economic accounting and socialist business, it is hoped that the trade sector in the capital city will take dynamic, creative, synchronized, and timely measures to gradually solve its burning problems, actively contributing to accelerating production, stabilizing commodity prices and living standards, and embellishing further the visage of Hanoi streets.

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RECAP OF JOINT BUSINESS ENDEAVORS BETWEEN CITY AND PROVINCES

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 10 Apr 86 p 3

[Article by Pham Minh Tri, deputy general director of the Municipal General Corporation for Exports]

[Text] Cooperative and joint economic activities have developed between the city and provinces in many fields: trade, import/export, industry, science and technology, information and culture, etc. Of these areas of cooperation, cooperative activities in the trade and import/export fields have grown relatively strong and very large in scale. In the import/export field alone, there have been the following forms of cooperation and joint business: exchanging goods, buying whole and selling in sections with foreign currency, import/export consignments, cooperative purchasing, joint business investment in production (cropwork, fishing) of agriculture goods, industrial crops, and marine products. The city is presently conducting joint businesses with the following provinces: An Giang, in agricultural produce; Minh Hai, in marine products (the Song Doc Marine Products Joint Business); Thuan Hai, in marine products (the Ham Tan Joint Business); and Kien Giang, in marine products (Phu Quoc Joint Business). Additionally, the city is promoting marine products business in Vinh Chau District, Hau Giang Province, and with a district in Ben Tre Province.

Of the above joint businesses, the Song Doc Marine Products Joint Business (Minh Hai Province), a relatively large-scale business (with a yearly export business volume of around 2 million dollars), has been effective in promoting the development of fishing in Tran Van Thoi District through the use of science and technology (lantern net fishing). After 2 years of operation, it has returned distinct economic results for the province and the city.

Nevertheless, in the process of developing cooperative and joint economic relations between Ho Chi Minh City and provinces, alongside good results, we also still have a number of problems to correct and overcome in order to take stronger steps forward in the future.

The problem to be addressed first is that of outlook. A number of business units do not yet thoroughly grasp the policy of cooperative and joint economic activities between the city and provinces, do not yet correctly and fully realize the objective need for coordinating forces and exploiting potentials, capabilities, and strengths of each other in order to contribute to accelerating production, controlling goods and purchasing at the source, and eliminating middlemen and distant merchandising. Therefore, when conducting business activities, a number of units place too much emphasis on short-term merchandising and exchanges, do excessive accounting of profit and loss when trading, and do not emphasize setting up long-term cooperative and joint economic relations right at the production phase in order to promote the development of production. A number of cadres in all sectors and levels are still suspicious of the economic effectiveness of joint businesses that have been formed between the city and provinces. The above instances of deviation lead to a situation in which it is easy to get unanimity among the municipal and provincial leadership on the orientation and methods of economic cooperation and joint activities, but when it comes time to implement them in business units difficulties and obstacles appear over specific issues (prices, sharing, profit and loss, etc.).

In continuing to promote cooperative and joint economic relations, according to the guidance of the municipal committee and the resolution of conferences on economic cooperation between the city and provinces for the immediate future, units must emphasize organizing and developing, in addition to the types of cooperative and joint economic endeavors already formed and developed well, forms of joint business investments in the production phase, promoting development of production, and thereby controlling products and purchasing at the source, eliminating middlemen and distant merchandising, contributing to price stabilization, and reforming and managing the market on the regional scale.

The city has specifically set up the following economic cooperation and joint activity projects with provinces and the central echelon:

--A project of investment in production (rice) in the provinces of the Mekong River delta. With this project, the city will advance provinces foreign capital in the form of materials (fertilizer, insecticides, etc.) in order to conduct intensive cultivation of rice and subsequently receive paddy for export. It is a project of balance and aid for the rice crops of provinces in the Mekong River delta.

--A project of cooperation in agricultural products and industrial crops (peanuts, beans, black pepper, coffee, etc.). The city and provinces cooperate in the following forms: exchanging goods; buying whole and /xvvjqh jq /xpw[illegible] [illegible]ort consignments; purchasing cooperation; joint business investment in production (with both sides investing, sharing profits, bearing [illegible] jointly for a lengthy period of 3-5 years or more). In these ways, the city will import and zs+zqpx w- .b-+jqpx/ .xwb-vx;ir axbwjvj%x[illegible] es, etc., for investment in production. The foreign currency received from exports (after deducting initial expenses) are divided between the parties economic activities between the city and provinces, do not yet correctly and fully realize the objective need for coordinating forces and exploiting potentials, capabilities, and strengths of each other in order to contribute to accelerating production, controlling goods and purchasing at the source, and eliminating middlemen and distant merchandising. Therefore, when conducting business activities, a number of units place too much emphasis on short-term merchandising and exchanges, do excessive accounting of profit and loss when trading, and do not emphasize setting up long-term cooperative and joint economic relations right at the production phase in order to promote the development of production. A number of cadres in all sectors and levels are still suspicious of the economic effectiveness of joint businesses that have been formed between the city and provinces. The above instances of deviation lead to a situation in which it is easy to get unanimity among the municipal and provincial leadership on the orientation and methods of economic cooperation and joint activities, but when it comes time to implement them in business units difficulties and obstacles appear over specific issues (prices, sharing, profit and loss, etc.).

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--A project of cooperation in marine products (shrimp, fish, etc.) in the following forms: cooperative purchasing at the source (at the price set by the Central Committee); buying whole and selling in sections; joint business in culturing and catching, purchasing, processing, and exporting. This project is characterized by cooperation between the city and the central marine products sector (Ministry of Marine Products) in a number of aspects and is related to rear service on the sea, processing marine products, ship repair, import/export, etc.

If the above projects are implemented well, they will advance economic cooperation and joint activities between the city and provinces a step forward in quality development, making relationships the city and provinces ever more intimate and closely knit, contributing to exploiting each other's potential, capabilities, and strengths, and building and developing the economy of the provinces and the city.

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CONTROL POSTS ABOLISHED ; MARKET MANAGEMENT STILL NEEDED

Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG in Vietnamese 10 Apr 86 pp 1,4

[Article by the "Distribution and Circulation Group of Correspondents": "One Week After the Order Abolishing Control Posts on Communications Axes"]

It is now more than a week since the resolution of the municipal party committee on "abolishing control posts and tax posts on road and waterway communications axes in the city" became effective (on 1 May 1986). Is the circulation of goods on the municipal level still in dire straits? Are responsible agencies strictly carrying out the city's orders yet? What effect has the above resolution of the municipal people's committee had on prices and daily life? These are concerns of the working people of the city and production and business people in and outside the city.

Mobile Control Has Diminished Along Streets, But Not Completely Stopped

Our first observation is that there has been a cut-back in the fixed and mobile control "fence" on waterway and road routes, but it has not been completely abolished. The large tax collection stations that conducted aggressive inspections at Cay Kho (Nha Be), Binh Trieu train station, Rach Cat (8th Precinct), and Tan Son Nhat Airport have ceased operation. The temporary business tax collection station on Highway 4 in Binh Chanh District also no longer exists. Sudden inspections of vehicles have greatly decreased on all big thoroughfares, such as the Hanoi highway and the routes from Binh Chanh and Cu Chi into the city. Itinerant citizens are less frequently bothered by having to stop and undergo inspections. We have observed happiness about this in many people, from cadres, workers, and civil servants to small merchants. Mrs Nguyen Thi Sen and Mrs Nguyen Thi Ngo, who have a vegetable garden in Tan An Hoi Village, Cu Chi District, usually hire a Lambretta in the morning to transport their vegetables to Ba Chieu Market for sale. On some trips before 1 April, their vehicle was stopped at Cu Chi, Hoc Mon, and other places for inspections to determine whether it was not packed with such contraband as peanuts, pork, or beef. The ladies reported to us that no more vehicles were being stopped "on suspicion." The director of Cooperative M.B., in the town of Thu Duc, verified for us that the practice of pork management by localization (each village managing swine in that village, not allowing swine to leave the village) had ceased. One village can buy from another, as long as it informs the marketing cooperative (in the village with pigs to sell) to avoid competitive buying, and it must also pay the 5-dong fee per head for exporting pigs from the village!--The district is still maintaining this fee in effect. A number of farm people in Binh Chanh district stated that mobile market management teams have been discontinued in An Lac, Binh Hung, and Cho Dem. Nevertheless, while unreasonable inspections have diminished on communications axes, they have not yet stopped. This indicates that a number of control organs and localities are not yet strictly complying with the order of the municipal people's committee. The waterway control post in Cho Dem, Binh Chanh District, notorious for bribery, has not yet been abolished. This is a ship inspection station, but there are a number of persons who call themselves tax evasion cadres of the station and specialize in stopping ships and boats to make money. They have no tax invoices or documentary proof. Two of the men, by the names of Hung and Duc, take bribes most openly. Mr Truong Cong Tho, manager of a vessel contracted with the Hau Giang Province Agricultural Products Corporation to transport lumber for the Agricultural Products and Food Corporation of the First Precinct, had to pay them bribes of from 50 to 200 dong over 100 times to avoid being found at fault and in trouble. There are still instances of vehicles being stopped and cargo searched within the city. At 1500 hours on 2 April, we saw communications control personnel (Office of Communications and Transportation, Fifth Precinct) stopping vehicles of all types on Ben Ham Tu Street (in front of the La Cai firewood yard), questioning the occupants and inspecting goods. At 1015 hours, 4 April, at the corner of Truong Dinh and Nguyen Dinh Chieu Streets, a number of personnel of the communications control unit of the Third Precinct (Office of Communications and Transportation, Third Precinct) had also stopped Hondas, 3-wheeled vehicles, and cyclos to inspect goods; among the personnel was the driver of an SS.50 Honda with the plate number 58BA-3663. On the morning of 7 April, on the corner of Vo Van Tan and Ba Huyen Thanh Quan, there was a group of public security force personnel (not traffic police) also stopping traffic and conducting searches. In summary, instances of mobile inspection on streets continue contrary to Resolution No. 49 of the municipal people's committee (article 2: "Abolishing all forms of mobile inspection by tax, control, and market management forces").

Trucks coming into the city from the provinces are also still being stopped on the highways and searched. On the road from Da Lat to Ho Chi Minh City, trucks are stopped at the Phen Rapids control post, the control post at kilometer 142, and at the Ma-da-gui Control Post. On 1 April, a truck hauling goods from Dalat to the Cau Muoi/Cau Ong Lanh Market had to pay 1,200 dong to the Ma-da-gui post. There are still many control posts on roads and waterways entering the city from the west. Boats coming into the city from Hau Giang must pass through nearly a dozen control posts, such as Tra On, Tam Binh, and Mang Thit in Cuu Long Province; Cho Gao and Go Cong Tay in Tien Giang; Thanh Vinh Dong in Tra Vinh, and Kinh Man and Can Giuoc in Long An. Money the boats pay to control posts have contributed to the high prices of goods.

The above situation explains why, a week after abolishing control posts on city axes more goods are not reaching markets yet and prices, especially of agricultural goods, show no sign of stabilizing. If instances of unreasonable (and illegal!) searches continue on the municipal level and provinces do not yet join the city in abolishing control posts that prohibit marketing, it will still be very hard to stabilize the market.

Only With a Rational Pricing Policy Can the Market Be Managed at Source

The abolishment of control posts that prohibit marketing presents an urgent requirement for practicing market management at the source--i.e., at the place of production and business. Market management activities must serve the state's effort to control goods and money, see to the daily life of the working people, and properly punish speculators and smugglers. Deserving attention are till improper purchasing policies and purchasing and sales competition between state economic units, as well as between these units and private merchants, which make the policy of abolishing control posts ineffective. After receiving Resolution 49 of the municipal people's committee, Binh Chang District abolished tax stations on communications routes and prohibited all forms of mobile control, at the same time instructing trade units to increase materials and consumer goods funds for farmers in order to buy agricultural products. Yet the district still found purchasing difficult. Private merchants buy molasses at twice the price fixed by the state. They pay 10-15 dong per kilogram more than the price set by the Commerce Service for pork on the hoof. They pay twice as much as the price set by the state for peanuts. A number of trade units in the city compete with Binh Chanh District for shrimp, even paying a commission to people traveling on transport vehicles to act as intermediaries to buy goods. Farmers are not satisfied with the purchasing prices of the state, because they consider them inappropriate, not compensating production costs. If there are no reasonable goods or materials for exchange, the farmers only sell to whoever pays a high price, whether private merchants or state economic units. In Cu Chi a situation is developing in which many state units are competing to buy peanuts. Villages buy, district trade corporations buy, and central, city, and urban precinct trade corporations come to buy. The price of peanuts has risen to 34-36 dong per kilogram (while the set buying price is 14 dong). In the Port of Saigon, there are four trade units of the city and precincts buying such items as electronic goods, cosmetics, fabrics and thread, and cultural goods brought in by ship from foreign countries. Private merchants also compete for purchases. Purchasing prices are going up constantly. It is very necessary to abolish market-restricting control posts in order to normalize the circulation of goods, yet subsequent measures are necessary to establish order in the market and hinder and progress toward the abolishment of purchasing and sales competition among economic units. There must be a rational pricing policy for materials and consumer goods in reference to farmers selling agricultural goods to the state. Aspects of the solution to this problem surpass the capability of wards and districts to solve. Yet if it is not solved well, the abolishment of control posts will not continue in effect, or will continue only formally, for, in order to control goods and meet standards, localities will one way or another "fence themselves in" in order to buy goods and prevent other places from coming in and buying them. In Cu Chi, many villages still block farming people from bringing peanuts out of the village.

Market Management Must Be Renovated

The bureaucratic centralism and state subsidy system of management created many agencies with the control functions that stepped on each others feet. Resolution No. 49 of the municipal people's committee determined the control function of public security, taxation, forest management, and quarantine sectors. But what if many units in addition to the above four sectors still inspect goods in circulation?--specifically: peace and order units and red flag units in markets; subward units and civil defense forces in subwards and guerrillas in villages; public security forces in subwards; communications control units of the communications and transportation sector; and assault youth units of the youth union. The above units do not set up stations and road-blocks, but have previously had the right to conduct mobile inspections of traffic in their own areas of operation. There were instances in which they were able to catch smugglers red-handed, but there were also many instances when it was only a matter of halting traffic unexpectantly out of suspicion. We think that any citizen has the right to arrest criminals in the act, including illegal merchants. But we cannot let too many sectors and units assume for themselves the right to inspect and control, including matters outside their own responsibility, stalling production and circulation. There must therefore be specific regulations on what unit has the right to inspect and control what, with what limitations.

Chasing after norms also leads to pervasive, unreasonable control. For a long time there has been a situation in which wards and districts levy higher norms on market management forces than the year before (norms for the number of arrests and the value of goods turned over). To meet norms, many units do not avoid unnecessary inspections and searches of goods, sometimes conducting them on mere suspicion. According to statistics, over 70 percent of the arrests made by district and ward market management forces were on transportation routes, and only about 30 percent were made at the place of unauthorized production or business of the illegal merchants. The tax sector also experiences instances of higher echelons levying higher tax-collection norms this year than last year on lower echelons. The abolishment of market-restricting control posts creates a strong requirement for renovating the make-up of market management in that norms are not administratively levied. In-depth market management must be performed, with ring-leaders and dishonest merchants caught by mobilizing the masses. Searching goods on transportation routes is no longer appropriate. Everyone is looking forward to that change.

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ECONOMIC PLANNING, TRADE, AND FINANCE

VIETNAM

BRIEFS

DRINKING ON HANOI STREETS—At present, in some sectors drinking liquor and beer at work is prohibited. Nevertheless, I have noted on several Hanoi streets that, because of the existence of a draft beer stall, a whole section of sidewalk was transformed into an open-air pub. People in standing, sitting, and other positions clustered around jars of beer and heaps of victuals wrapped in tree leaves and placed on the sidewalk, even close to gutters. Red faced and tipsy in voice, they often exchanged blows among themselves. Bicycles and motorbikes were thrown pell mell amid stifling odors of food and liquor. A cadre in charge of a beer stall told me, "Inside the stall, decent tables and chairs are available but they keep eating and drinking on the sidewalk despite our insistence, and we can do nothing about that." I believe that the above spectacle not only creates disorder and squalor along the streets, but also displays an unrestrained lifestyle at a time when the entire society is eager to take part in labor and production and eliminate the drinking vice. It is all the more regrettable since it takes place along the streets of the capital city usually visited by foreigners. It is suggested that responsible sectors in the nation's capital—traffic police and the cultural and commercial sectors—take vigorous remedial measures. [By Le Dinh Vinh, Haiphong] [Text] [Hanoi DOC LAP in Vietnamese 2 Apr 86 p 4] 9213/9435

CSO: 4209/453

MARITIME PRODUCTS SECTOR SAID TO UNDERGO TRANSFORMATION

Hanoi QUAN DOI NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 31 Mar 86 p 3

[Article by Thieu Quang Bien: "A New Transformation in Catching Maritime Products"]

[Text] Every year the maritime products that are caught account for about 70 to 80 percent of the total quantity of maritime products serving the requirements of domestic consumption and exports. During the past several years, especially in 1985, fishing in general and the catching of maritime products specifically have been a seething economic front. By means of all-out efforts to reorient production, create internal capital, develop production, and fulfill obligations to the state, new accomplishments have been achieved in catching maritime products. According to data of the Ministry of Aquatic Products, the total amount of capital invested and the principal materials supplied by the state to the fishing sector in the 1981-1985 5-year period amounted to only half, or less than half, than the previous 5-year period, but production amounted to 3.5 million tons of all kinds, which was 103.3 percent of the output in the 1976-1980 5-year period. In 1985 production amounted to 808,000 tons, 15.4 percent greater than the norm set forth by the Fifth Party Congress. The sector accumulated for the budget more than 6 billion dong, while at the same time halting the decline caused by prolonged deficits and bringing about new development in a number of regards.

In recent years the state has allowed the aquatic products sector to use exporting to achieve a balance in order to maintain and develop production and fulfill obligations toward the state. That was also a turning point in gradually changing over the bureaucratic centralism-state subsidy administrative mechanism to a new mechanism--socialist production and commerce. Because of its strengths with regard to tropical fishing and the existence of a large consumer market, the aquatic products sector regards exporting as a very important mission. The sector has paid attention to investing in and more fully utilizing the capacity of the equipment of the domestic frozen food processing plants to produce export goods. Many new factories have been built in many new provinces and even at the district level. The value of export goods production has increased rapidly. The value of exports during the 1981-1985 5-year period was nearly four times greater than in the 1976-1980 5-year period. But even more important, the capital earned from exports contributed importantly to maintaining and restoring the traditional trades, to developing new trades, and to increasing mechanized and semi-mechanized catching capabilities in all three economic sectors: state, collective, and the families of fishermen. The number of motorized ships and boats increased from 28,021--with a total of 453,915 horsepower--in 19890 to 30,6000 and a total horsepower of 478,000 in 1985. The shrimp trade increased from 2,000 nets to 10,000. The number of workers increased by nearly 45,000 by 1980. The changes with regard to manpower and facilities during those years were factors which led to the result of an annual increase of 7 percent every year during the 1981-1985 5-year period.

All three maritime products exploitation sectors--state, collective, and family--were reorganized and began to develop their existing capabilities. Attention was paid to developing the leading role of the state sector in the fishing trade. The state forces, with their strengths vis-a-vis technical equipment and cadres, did a good job of combining on-the-spot exploitation with going to catch fish at the fishing grounds, depending on the season, which created high productivity and new efficiency in catching and processing maritime products.

The cooperatives, production collectives, and solidarity teams engaged in fishing, and the families of fishermen, every year catch more than 80 percent of the total fish output and have played a great role in supplying products for domestic consumption and raw materials for export. Along with reorienting production, during the past several years the party and state policies that have been promulgated have furthered the socialist transformation of the sighing trade and contributed to resolving problems so that the fishermen can be content in production. Therefore, in the southern provinces the solidarity teams are well organized and have developed rapidly numerically. The path of advance of the solidarity teams in production and commerce in the fishing sector has also been quite unique: three or four fishermen's families voluntarily contribute boats and fishing equipment to set up a solidarity team, and contribute additional capital, which is added to capital borrowed from bank to build or buy a medium-sized boat in order to develop deep-sea fishing. Therefore the solidarity teams have expanded their production areas and developed additional new high-productivity trades. The output of the fishing solidarity teams has increased 5, 10, or in some years 20 times, in comparison to the time when they were engaged in individual livelihood. That new economic form is appropriate to the level of management, so they are highly productive and is supported by the majority of the fishermen. In Quang Nam-Da Nang alone thousands of such teams have been set up. Many teams have recovered their investment capital after only a few fishing seasons. After several years of operating successfully many small solidarity teams, in order to expand their scale of production, have joined together to form collectives, organized additional processing and service trades, and organized combined production and commerce.

Scientific-technical research has undergone additional new development and in recent years has contributed positively to restoring and developing exploitation capabilities. The research topics have remained close to the actual situation and directly served production. The mass movement to develop initiatives and apply scientific-technical advances to catching and raising aquatic products in all three economic sectors--state, collective, and family--has developed.

In future years the missions of the aquatic products sector will be quite heavy. It must endeavor to, by 1990, attain an output of between 1 and 1.1 million tons of maritime products. The renovations in management during the recent period are advantages which will enable the aquatic products sector to attain that goal. But at present, when the entire aquatic products sector is enthusiastically beginning 1986, our country's fishing is in fact still small-scale coastal fishing, primarily at depths of under 25 meters, and is greatly affected by natural disasters, storms, and floods. The reorganization of production has not yet been completed, especially organization at sea in the key fishing grounds. Many localities are still creating obstacles, and even prevent ships and boats from other localities which move about catching fish according to the season from catching fish in fishing grounds within their administrative jurisdiction. Fishing forecasts, studies, and surveys have not yet met the needs of production. The fishermen are a powerful force but have not yet fully utilized their exploitation potential with regard to freshwater, saltwater, and brackish water fishing. Fishing has been promoted but has not yet been combined with protecting resources, especially shrimp. Nor has service network also has not met the extensive and rich needs of the sector. Therefore, in order to create advantages for exploiting maritime products, the present efforts are intended to make good use of the labor potential and the material-technical bases, reorganize production so that it can be appropriate to the natural characteristics of the resources, promote ocean fishing, and develop the raising of aquatic products, while also organizing services ashore and at sea, building and repairing ships and boats to meet the needs of fishing and the state purchasing of products, orienting the aquatic products processing industrial sector according to the requirement of creating increasingly larger quantities and high quality, etc.

Contributing to fulfilling the missions of the fishing sector, our armed forces have some naval detachments which combine combat training and patrolling with fishing. Some units on distant islands participate in catching abalone for export, and some other units raise shrimp in brackish tidal pools. Especially, thanks to the assistance of the aquatic products sector with regard to breeding stock and techniques, the troop units along the northern border have built dams to create reservoirs, dug ponds, etc., to raise freshwater fish, protect and improve the environment, and serve the material and spiritual lives of the troops. At present the troop units are manifesting a strong sense of responsibility in combining fishing with raising and protecting maritime products, and in contributing, along with the entire aquatic products sector, to victoriously meeting the goals set forth for the sector in the 1986-1990 plan.

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